

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE
CREATION OF PLACES AND THE IMPACT
THAT ACTION HAS ON IDENTITY: A CASE
STUDY IN PUERTO RICO

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Identity is at the crux of a person's life. People's pursuit of uniqueness strongly motivates the process of constructing identity. Place has a major role in that process but present theories focused on identity consider places as manifestations of the self, at the mercy of their populations who change and give meaning to them. The research presented here demonstrates that places are more than personal or groups' constructions and that they act as agents, directly influencing identity dimensions. This research tests how places created by the government -and not by the people who live in them- can directly influence identity creation in Puerto Rico.

The Island was selected as a case study because in 1948 the government decided to re-define “Puerto Ricans” after recognizing the cultural influences the US was having on the population. Although it highlighted three groups as representatives of the culture -i.e., Tainos (Native-Indians), Spaniards (colonizers) and Africans (slaves)-, it selected the “Jíbaro” -a light-skinned peasant from the mountains- as the main representative of the “real” Puerto Rican. Today, even though PR is understood as a racially diverse place, over 75% of the population selects White as their race in the US Census. This study seeks to understand if the narratives created by the government about the Island influence how participants selected a racial category and identified with the ethnic/racial groups involved in history. Also, it tests how the construction of Loíza, (municipio with the highest proportion of “Blacks”) affects the way people talk and identify with it.

The research uses Mixed Methods to interpret data collected in four communities. The results are analyzed using two binary logistic regression models on over two-hundred-and-ninety surveys and, a Two-way Cluster Analysis based on frequency codes of twenty-five in-depth interviews. Findings suggest the identity construction the government has created around Puerto Rico and Loíza as places, actively informs participant responses to questions about their ethnic, national and racial identities.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE CREATION OF PLACES:
APPROACHING THE IDENTITY PROCESS THEORY FROM A
GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE USING CASES OF RACIAL, ETHNIC AND
NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN PUERTO RICO

by

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Dedication

To my -now- 11 months old daughter, Maia Isabelle who kept waking up at nights while I was writing but whose existence added me another reason to Ph.inisheD. To my husband and parents, Emanuel, Carmen and, Luis who have always believed in me and, whose love and enthusiasm have supported me during this process.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Motivation

Identity, race, and place are dynamic social constructions that vary by culture and ethnic group. The process of constructing identity at both individual and collective levels, is mainly motivated by the pursuit of uniqueness (Becker et al., 2012; McGarty, 2001). Establishing identity requires a constant renegotiation of the self and re-inscription of the past, memories, and history (Lebow, 2013). Research and theories focused on identity usually consider places as manifestations of the self (Hauge, 2007). For example, theories such as the Identity Process Theory (Hauge, 2007; Jaspar et al., 2014; Dixon et al., 2014), suggest that if an immigrant group puts flags in their community, these flags are expressions of distinctiveness and cultural pride manifested in the landscape. Some discussions (Frazier, 2011) go further and acknowledge that the landscape feedbacks the community's identity and supports it because its members feel reflected in the place. The problem with understanding places as manifestations is that it suggests they are passive agents in the process of creating an identity. This research disagrees with only considering places as “mirrors” of the self and goes further by asking what their impact is when the group who lives in them did not take part in their public creation, meaning how they are defined and characterized by the government. Would they play a significant role in identity when they are “technically” imposed?

This research contributes to the Identity Process Theory and its stances about places, using the construction of "Puerto Rico" as a nation. Puerto Rico was selected as a case study because in 1948 its government intentionally tied national, ethnic and racial identities to the ethnic groups present during the Spaniard colonization (Dávila, 1997). This strategy was launched through the establishment of the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena (ICP) after realizing the rapid and significant cultural impact that the United States was having on the population (Alegría, 1956; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006). This is when Puerto Rico adopted the narrative of being a racially-mixed country and the claim that there is no room for discrimination on the Island. Meanwhile, the same governmental agency selected the image of a light-skin peasant -jíbaro- as the representation of the "real" Puerto Rican. Although jíbaros represent the working class in the late stages of Spanish rule over Puerto Rico, they are commonly understood as Spaniard's offspring, and their selection has overshadowed the contribution of Africans to the modern Puerto Rican culture. The purpose of this research is to determine the impact that narratives about places, in this case, the country and municipio, have on the population's individual ethnic, national and racial identities.

Research Problem and Relevance

Place is one of the foundational themes of Geography. The specific research problem is based on the argument that places can be active agents in the construction of identity, even when they are defined by entities outside the individual, namely the state. This is in contrast to earlier identity theories that consider places as passive

locations that are socially constructed by the people who live in them. This research contributes to the literature in geography by demonstrating how places and the narratives created about them by the government, lead to identity formation. The study specifically contributes to the well-known Identity Process Theory by establishing that the meaning and understanding of places can be revisited by the individual when any identity dimension is under threat and not necessarily when the physical environment is been threatened.

This research is relevant for the implementation of policies and practice because it suggests places can be considered as promoters of education, tools to decolonize collective mentalities and catalyzers of social change. The findings discussed here support that government's creation and advertisement of places and spaces can instill pride on historically marginalized groups and impact their identity in positive ways. If governments can recognize and use places as protagonists of social integration, they can provide historically marginalized populations with a sense of inclusion and importance, especially in countries suffering from lack acknowledgment of the African and Native heritage. Considering the value that the narratives told about places have on increasing or decreasing their populations' identity, also makes this research relevant to inform community-inclusive planning. Places such as plazas, parks, monuments or museums could help to inform the population and have a powerful impact perpetuating or breaking stereotypes created around certain groups. Addressing social and mental decolonization in Latin and Caribbean countries is necessary because studies reveal higher levels of stress (Quiñones, 2006), high blood pressure, and heart-related

conditions (Gravlee, 2005; Gravlee and Dressler, 2005) when people think are perceived “Blacker” than they really are.

Research Question and Design

- What is the role of place in identity creation?
 - Are they passive in identity creation?
 - When the place is assigned an identity by the government, what is the role of the place in the process of identity creation for the people who live there?

To answer these questions, this research employs the use of Mixed Methods and Case Study methodologies to collect and data from four communities. The researcher administrated over two-hundred-and-ninety surveys and conducted twenty-five in-depth interviews. The study examines the narratives created by the government at two geographical levels, considering the understanding of Puerto Rico as the national level and the construction of Loíza and Canóvanas at the county level. The research took place in three of Loíza’s barrios and San Isidro -Canóvanas-, because of the relatively recent split of these two municipios in 1972 (Rivera-Correa, 1974). The separation of Loíza and Canóvanas was an important aspect to consider because the government attributed different identities and funded specific cultural aspects to develop their tourism. In the case of Loíza, the Capital of Tradition, it decided to explore their Afro-Puerto Rican cultural aspects while Canóvanas, was designated the City of Indians (Native-Indians). The four communities were strategically selected

based on their relative location, which later was found it influenced their population municipal's identity and attachment.

Overview of the Chapters

This chapter (Chapter 1) explained the study's motivations, research questions and, relevance. Chapter 2 includes literature supporting concepts necessary for the full understanding of the relationships between the identity dimensions, government and places discussed in this research. Chapter 3 provides information about Puerto Rico as the study case and Loíza and Canóvanas as specific study areas. This chapter also establishes statistical similarities and differences between the four study sites discussing their socio-economic, demographic and racial characteristics. Chapter 4 details the methods used during the data collection, explains the questionnaires, the motivations behind the question asked and, reflects on some observations noted during the collection process.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 explain the specific tests used to analyze the results and the findings' conclusions. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 approached the data using binary logistic regression models. The results in Chapter 5 modeled variables to predict how participants selected "White" or "Black" in the US Census and compared it to their understanding of the concept of race. This chapter explains the reasons why Puerto Ricans think differently of "race" and depends on how that understanding is associated with the narrative created around countries and counties. For its part, the log model in Chapter 6 presented variables of how participants selected a racial/ethnic group (Taino,

Spaniard, African or Jíbaro) as representative of themselves. The chapter concluded that the construction of Puerto Rico was in part influenced by what the participant learned was Puerto Rico's history and they combined these two knowledge to inform their selections. Chapter 7 is the third chapter of methods and results in which the researcher used a Two-way Cluster Analysis based on the in-deep interviews codes. This chapter explores how "Loíza" is constructed differently by study sites and how the way in which participants talked about Loíza showed they identified as Loicenos or, they underlined their "Otherness." Finally, Chapter 8 discusses all the findings and explains how they contribute to the Identity Process Theory and the general understandings of the relationship that exists between places and national, ethnic and racial identity.

Chapter 2: Identity and Places: The role of the Government in their Creations and their Effects on Identification

Introduction

This chapter discusses the three main concepts central to this dissertation: identity, place and the theoretical framework based on the Identity Process Theory. This study focuses on the "National," "Ethnic" and "Racial" dimensions of identity. These three concepts were selected because their definitions are often confused, and they have critical importance when studying the case of Puerto Rico. The second section discusses place and how its sub-concepts (e.g., place-identity, place attachment and place dependency) differ from one another. Finally, the chapter discusses the Identity Process Theory (IPT) as the best framework to study this topic and the contributions this research will contribute to the theoretical framework.

Identity Politics, Identification, and Affiliations

Identity as a concept has not reached a consistent definition (Lebow, 2013). However, it is well known that the process of constructing identity at both individual and collective levels, is motivated by the pursuit of uniqueness. Constructing identity is achieved by contrasting themselves with one or more groups (Terrén, 2002) and, different from the popular understanding, it does not consist on highlighting similarities

but rather on distinctions (Becker et al., 2012; McGarty, 2001). Creating an identity requires a constant renegotiation of the past, memories, and history. However, even when some aspects have to be renegotiated, individuals have to strongly agree with the traditional values' system that are an essential part of the identity dimension (Terrén, 2002).

2.1.1 Self-identification

Self-identification has been adopted as an analytical unit because it captures the result of people's renegotiations and adaptations to different challenges their identity dimensions have faced (Lebow, 2013). Self-identification does not only allow people to denote their attributes but also provides a space to describe affiliations and analyze specific personal roles within them. Individuals can affiliate with "people, groups, institutions and ideas" such as "partners, families, clans, social and professional groups, organizations, communities, religions, nations, regions..." (Lebow, 2013, p.308). Society encourages individuals to attach emotionally to the groups they affiliate with and, invites them to give meaning to what they consider their role in the group is.

Identification is considered a reliable way to capture identity because when a person or group agrees to identify with something, they are "reflectively endorsing their internal motives as determinants of their behaviors" (Velleman, 2006). This means that when people self-identify, they are willingly constraining themselves to believe and behave in a way that goes along with what they have chosen to identify with. However, identification and the way people identify changes by situations as certain identities or discourses become more or less relevant under different scenarios (Smith, 1991).

People identify with things or other individuals in positive, negative and neutral ways. Velleman (2006) describes that positive evaluations are mostly based on admiration or desires to emulate what or whom you are identifying with, while negative identification can occur in response to sentiments produced by ineptitude or weakness. Velleman (2006) supports that the act of identifying involves imagination to, momentarily and spontaneously believe that the person is what him/her is identifying with or, that what you are identifying with is you. There are different levels of identification, but two of the most common and deep connections are when the person's a) "attitudes toward the world are modified" by "imagining a world" in which they are that person or thing and, b) by "imagining the world as experienced by that person" or thing (Velleman, 2006, p.107). As consequence, people empathize with what they are identifying with and are more likely to adopt some aspects of their behavioral style.

2.1.1.1 Integration or Otherization

Creating identity develops the "relational self", which dictates most of the inter (and intra) relationships. Jaspal and Cinnirella (2011) support that people claim their own membership by acknowledging, accepting and reproducing aspects that are socially accepted and considered common to the particular group. The way in how people relate to others is essential because identity dimension's boundaries are often policed and subtly tested by others members (Jaspal and Cinnirella, 2011). This means that people tend to confirm other individuals' memberships by, for example, asking specific questions and evaluating answers received. When characteristics of group authenticity are demonstrated, the process leads to inclusion and, this helps

individuals to engage in solidarity with those who fall within the same social organizations (Lebow, 2013).

Because identity is formed by underlining whom a person or a group “is not”, it is always necessary to talk about those whose characteristics are perceived as incompatible (Jaspal and Cinnirella, 2011). The “otherization” is produced when a person’s practices and values do not go along with what is considered as an in-group membership criterion. Terrén (2002) and Jaspal and Cinnirella (2011) support that because identity is produced -and reproduced- with daily interactions, successfully being convinced a of belonging in a group could result in psychological benefits. This suggests that those who are excluded, or not accepted, as in-group members could suffer some social and psychological affliction. Terrén (2002) adjudges exclusionary positions to the “absolutism and close-minded vision” that sometimes prevent the group from “recognizing many of the life’s hybrid characteristics” (p. 49). Some forms of absolutism manifest in discriminatory attitudes (e.g. racism and ethnocentrism) and social fragmentation (e.g. xenophobia) against those who fail falling into what has been considered the majorities’ standards.

2.1.2 Ethnic, National and Racial Identities as Constructed Identity Dimensions

National, Ethnic Racial identities are commonly used as interchangeable concepts, but they do not mean the same (Quintana, 2007; Smith, 1991). These following sections describes their differences and introduce some of the specific types of national and racial identities this research will include.

2.1.2.1 Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity can be defined as: “a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and, share segments of a common culture” (Yinger, 1976, p. 200; Quintana, 2007). Please notice that this understanding does not tie ethnicity to a specific country, just as a group of people with certain cultural characteristics. Terrén (2002) approaches the identity dimension more as a ‘relationship’ than a groups’ characteristic. His arguments support that ethnicity’s essence is shared with the meaning of culture and it is fostered by social interactions that contribute to the development of other identity dimensions.

Some of the characteristics associated with ethnic communities are: having of an official name, “a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific homeland and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population” (Smith, 1991, p. 21). Smith (1991) clarifies that not every ethnic community has all those characteristics, but the more they have in common, the stronger the sense of community. At the same time, Smith (1991) also supports that “belonging to an ethnic group is a matter of attitudes, perceptions, and sentiments that are necessarily fleeting and mutable” (p.21). This means that people’s degree of ethnic identity and can vary by place, time or circumstances, for example, when someone who migrates and experiences an increase or decrease in his/her ethnic identification depending with whom he/she is talking.

Ethnicity, as other identity dimensions, is dynamic social construction that it is continually being constructed by personal and collective histories, stories and cultures interchangeabilities. It is for this reason that Abizadeh (2001) argues that ethnicity’s

“very existence is dependent on beliefs about its existence” (p.25), because it is founded on socio-historical circumstances and genealogical facts that are “often based on historically inaccurate beliefs” (p.25). Jaspal and Cinnirella (2011) expand on this idea supporting that individuals invent traditions, create national myths and stories and romanticized their culture through their ethnic identity’s construction (p. 511). This view of ethnicity is one of the most accepted understandings of the ethnic identity dimension (Abizadeh, 2001, Jaspal and Cinnirella, 2011 and Smith, 1991) and show why the role of the person, group or entity responsible for the narrative is necessary to consider when studying ethnic and national identities.

2.1.2.2 National Identity

National identity is defined as “the sense of political community” (Smith, 1991, p.9) in which the “community” has a politically defined border where they feel they belong. Smith (1991) specifies that the political community should have “at least some common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all the members in the community” (p.9). This means that the members born inside these political borders are expected to have the same legal-political rights, and share similar historical events, ideologies, and traditions. The combination of these characteristics is defined as a ‘nation’ while the awareness and acknowledgment of them can be understood as a national identity.

The idea of a national identity evokes thoughts about “unity”, collective-self and self-sufficiency as one entity under the structure of a nation. National symbols such as:

“flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths, folk costumes, museums of folklore, war memorials, ceremonies of remembrance for the national dead, passports, frontiers – as well as more hidden aspects, such as national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes, and heroines, fairy tales, forms of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts, modes of town planning, legal procedures, educational practices and military codes” (Smith, 1991 p.77)

are used to create a sense of community in its members through the creation of historical culture. Governments control and foment national ideologies that feed identities to create a sense of community and avoid mobilizations that could cause internal divisions. The indoctrinations received about these symbols is so subtle that most people do not realize they have been taught to feel sentiments of pride or love as soon as they see them.

Taylor et al. (1996) refer to Wirth’s definition of nationalism as “social movements, attitudes, and ideologies characterizing the behavior or ‘nationalities’ engaged in various forms of political or cultural struggles” (p.25). This kind of nationalism (i.e., civic) or some of its forms (e.g., expansionist, revolutionary, post-colonial) go beyond the scope of this study but it is essential to consider how the structures of power need to control the narratives about nations so nationalist groups do not bring to discussions other perspective and get control over their nations (e.g., coup d'etat).

Taylor et al. (1996) identify the rise of contemporary states as the moment when colonies achieved their independence. For him, this is when many “nations” (e.g.,

smaller groups within an extension of land we consider today as countries) needed to group in the same colony to fight against the colonizers. Their first association against their colonizers did not mean they thought of themselves as a nation but that they were fighting for a common good. However, after the independence wars were over, many became subordinated over into the new multi-national states. With time, some of them were able to achieve a sense of national identity while others still carrying internal unconformities. Considering the factors discussed we could conclude that nation is what Dikotter (1996) defines as “a relatively homogeneous entity with shared characteristics which transcend internal divisions of class, status, and region.” (p.590).

2.1.2.2.1 Cultural & Racial Nationalisms

Smith (1991) supports that “every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms” (p.13). These elements varying by the focus of the group, or in this case, by the individuals’ definition of his/her national identity dimension. Nationalism has several types (Dikotter, 1996) but this study focuses on “cultural” and “racial” national identities dimensions. Cultural nationalism refers to the belief of “the nation to have a distinctive civilization based on a unique history, culture, and territory” (Dikotter, 1996, p.591). This type of nationalism combines the laws that govern the citizens with the value given to the land and its history. It also supports that nations should respect the natural divisions that exist among and within the political borders and that, nations should design citizenship rights that appreciate those cultural differences.

The concept of race is often confused with ethnicity because of the historical racial ideologies that dominated science for about one hundred years. From 1850’s to

1940's, scientists were tabulating cultural characteristics and phenotypical differences as "subspecies of homo sapiens such as Mongoloid, Negroid, Australoid, Caucasian and the like" (Smith, 1991, p.21). During this period these differences were used to create hierarchies in which Caucasians and Mongoloids were considered superior because the other groups were colonized by Whites (Dikotter, 1996).

Racial and Ethnic nationalisms have in common the importance of history and culture, but they are considered different because of racial nationalism's pseudo-biological approach that focuses on the populations' blood ties (Dikotter, 1996). Dikotter (1996) draws the difference between cultural and racial nationalism supporting that this group focuses more on congenital endowments and considers culture as a secondary aspect or, a product of those connatural ties. Racial-national identity is also intrinsically related to the broader national identity dimension's idea of a legacy that is passed through generations but goes beyond by adopting thoughts from the racial ideologies in which they compare their nation's superiority compared to others.

2.1.2.3 Differences between Ethnic and National Identities and their approach to "Land"

National and Ethnic identities are commonly used as interchangeable concepts, but they do not mean the same (Quintana, 2007; Smith, 1991). Their similarity is often assumed because both refer to a group of people who share some pride for a country and proclaim its uniqueness. Johnston (1995), in its review about Smith (1991) comments that national identity is "less a social construction" and more "an extension and elaboration of a basic ethnic core identity and historical memory of a culture."

What he (Johnston, 1995) does not consider is that these groups celebrate their similarities through the creation of activities, but they do not necessarily share the same political rights or ideologies of the country in which they are settled (Quintana, 2007; Yinger, 1976). The best example of the differences between national and ethnic identities in the United States, where the US-born generations of ethnic groups (e.g., Italian-American, Chinese-American) share the same political rights but have different cultural values. This means that both concepts include the celebration of uniqueness, but the national identity involves more political aspects of belonging, while ethnic identity is more about the cultural character of them.

Ethnic and National identity can also be differentiated by comparing the importance that political borders have in each of their definitions. For example, Taylor et al. (1996) characterize ethnic groups as “a cultural collectivity in a nation-state or across the borders of several states” (Taylor et al. 1996, p.9). This means that, even when ethnicity is often associated with countries, their political borders do not restrict it. Taylor et al. (1996) give the example of multi-ethnic states in which certain ethnic groups desire their recognition as nations. In most of the time, one of the main reasons for the discontent is because the ethnic groups were incorporated into a nation without their consent. Political changes that do not democratically consider the population’s opinion (i.e., coup d'etat, invasions, forced migration, the draw of new political borders, economic processes) affect the population’s identity because they disrupt the identity principles (e.g., continuity and belonging) and cause feelings of alienation, unfamiliarity and landlessness (Devine-Wright, 2009; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996).

Lastly, Ethnic and National identities give a distinct meaning regarding land and even when part of their approaches overlap, their focus is different. Smith (1991) discusses how meaningful the attachment to certain territories or places is for ethnic identity. He highlights how land is given meanings of sacredness and how the attribution of the land to “our forefathers, our lawgivers, our kings and sages, poets and priests” (p.23) make the groups owning and romanticizing the land as “ours.” He discusses that ethnic identity makes people take ownership of the land by considering it theirs collectively and the place where they belong. This degree of identification with the land is what makes some ethnic group’s members feel nostalgia, pride or attachment when they heard or talk about the countries’ culture.

Similarly, the meaning of “land” is an essential part of national identity. However, in this case, it is the extension of the political territory the one that receives historical meaning. A person with a moderate to strong national identity often referred to land in the political border as ‘our’ “homeland” or “‘the cradle’ of ‘our people’” (Smith, 1991, p.9). Referring to this identity dimension, Smith (1991) describes the meaning of homeland as “a repository of historic memories and associations, the place where ‘our’ sages, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought” (p.9) and specifies that both the land and its natural resources are conceived as exclusive to the population. This perception of the land’s exclusivity distinguishes nationalism as a most protective of the political territory and stronger positions against those considered aliens.

2.1.2.4 The role of the government in the creation of Ethnic and National Identities

The process of creating identity involves the “stories we tell ourselves about the past” (Carter et al., 1993, p.X). When approaching this topic, it is always important to consider who is behind the narrative and how his/her claims impact individuals. Carter et al, 1993 mentions that the government is the entity that influences the “discourses of ‘art,’ ‘culture,’ ‘quality’, ‘national identity/nationhood’ (p. 9) and ethnicity and, plays a deterministic role in the construction of national history. Governments recognize that collective cultural identities require

“a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit population to share memories of earlier events and periods in the history to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture.” (Smith, 1991, p.25)

This means that creating a community and narrative that could be passed along to different generations is part of the agenda that needs to be address by the government to create a community. Because government’s reach is partially limited, it associates with other governmental agencies such as the Departments of Education and the media to create a sense of community and a common interpretation of the past. This constitution of a common culture is important to remove potential social divisors, because as Lois Wirth supported, “it is not race but culture –linguistic, religious, economic, and social habits and attitudes, institutions and values- what marks people off from one another” (Taylor et al., 1996, p.29).

However, Carter et al. (1993) suggest that the idea of the “past” is constantly modified by the government so it can meet particular challenges that emerge across the time. Every modification that it is done to the narrative affects its authenticity and, each new product contribute to loss of the historically accurate version (Lebow, 2013). The governmental process of changing the history continues even when the past transforms into a myth (Stephan and Stephan, 2000).

Carter et al., (1993) support that the process of constituting a group’s singularity is full of ambiguities. They assert that regional and historical similarities do not allow groups to have enough distinctive attributes to be considered unique. Regional similarities are part of why groups (e.g. countries, towns) have to create dichotomous separations in which they highlight their characteristics as positives and, point out at the other’s groups as negatives. This action of differentiating groups gives space to what it is known as “stereotyping and collective narcissism” (Carter et al., 1993; p.14) because those attitudes overshadow foreign groups, especially in moments of tensions (Becker et al., 2012; McGarty, 2001).

2.1.2.5 Race and Racial Identity

Similar to the concepts discussed, the definition of race still represents a challenge for researchers (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Quintana, 2007). The biggest problem with achieving a definition is due to the differences in scientific approaches used to study the phenomenon. Some fields in natural sciences treat it as a biological concept while others –mainly disciplines in social sciences- consider it a social construct. The biologic approach is primarily based on the study of phenotypical

characteristics and differences on genetic pools. This method has historically established a particular hierarchy based on physical differences (Spickard, 1996; Stephan and Stephan, 2000), although other studies have refuted this supporting that the genetic similarities between groups are more than their variations (Quintana, 2007). The only acknowledgment this study makes about phenotypical differences in characteristics such as skin color, hair texture or eye shape evolved in specific ways so their populations could successfully adapt to their environments. An example of this is the darker skin tone of people near the tropics to protect from the sun or the lighter skin tone of those in higher latitudes to receive Vitamin D from the sun.

This study will consider two main definitions of racial identity. First, as the “sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group” (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999; p.40) and, as “a portion of a person’s worldview in which attitudes and beliefs about race, society, and the self, align to create an understanding of one’s place in a racialized world” (Goren and Plaut, 2012; p.238). Similar to the definitions of Ethnic and National identities, these two concepts include words such as ‘sense of group’, ‘beliefs’ and ‘common heritage’. These words suggest that membership to these groups are legitimized by the assumption that ancestors shared their same characteristics and identity dimension.

The social sciences’ approach that the definition of race changes over time and by places, depends on the goals pursued by those who used it (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Sellers and Shelton, 2003; Stephan and Stephan, 2000). This research approaches race as a social construct and understands racism as a system to marginalize

and oppress groups based on stereotypes and prejudice. Because this research considers race in this way, it defines the understanding of racial identity as a strong collective identification that acknowledges a common racial heritage (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999). The acknowledgment occurs at a personal level, and it can only be achieved when the individual thoroughly understands the racial group's legacy, the history of the oppression suffered and their resistance against the system. Models support that embracing and creating a racial identity is a long and continuous process that has several stages (Quintana, 2007; Sellers and Shelton, 2003). Different from the ethnic identity that is mainly passed to the individual through the family's or community's celebrations, the creation of racial identity requires the seeking of continuous knowledge through education and critical thinking (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

2.1.2.5.1 Phenotypical Characteristics and Categorizations

The issue of racism in modern history has been directly associated with phenotypical characteristics, specifically skin color (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999). Individuals and groups frequently use skin color to differentiate themselves from those whom they consider others (Chávez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Duany, 2005; Sánchez-Rivera, 2013). Latin American and Caribbean countries have developed more than twenty categories of race based on the combination of skin tones, hair texture and color, mouth's size and nose's shape in order to avoid their direct association to the African heritage (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992; Duany, 1998; Duany, 2002; Goudreau et al. 2008; Gravlee, 2005; Gravlee and Dressler, 2005; Quiñones, 2006; Sánchez-Rivera, 2013). This phenomenon is called "blanqueamiento," also known as "bleaching" or "whitening" and it is common on

former colonies where social hierarchy was strongly linked to the person's skin tone (Hall, 2003).

Linked to the social desirability for a light skin, it has been found that even dark skinned participants unconsciously associate pictures of light-skinned people with positive characteristics while images of dark-skinned ones to negative adjectives (Maddox, 2004). In the tropics, individuals who believe they are perceived "blacker" by others are more likely to have higher levels of blood pressure and develop related cardiovascular conditions (Gravlee, 2005). However, one of the most significant problems of the social whitening is not that the general population disassociates itself from the African heritage, but that, dark-skinned individuals unconsciously devalue themselves and feel emotionally attached to the white visualization of the culture (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992).

In general, racial categories have seemed like a problematic and inaccurate representation of certain populations such as Latinxs (Moreman, 2011). The issue has made social scientists, and US Census divisions consider their elimination. However, as Chávez and Guido-DiBrito commented (1999), "racial identity is a surface-level manifestation based on what we look like, yet it has deep implications in how we are treated (p.40). This means that the use of the categories would be irrelevant in societies where racial and socio-economic inequalities do not exist and where individuals would not suffer unequal treatment based on the way they look. The importance of collecting data on race is not to continue dividing the society but because its statistical purposes to study populations' inequalities, disparities, and segregation (Quintana 2007; Stephan and Stephan, 2000).

2.1.2.5.2 Effects of Colonization on Identity

Colonization is mainly known as the historical period in which European countries expanded their territories, invaded foreign land and exploited their natural resources. Classic colonial models explain colonization as the forced entry of a foreign group in an inhabited area. After the establishment of this new group follows: a) the cultural denigration of the native group and the imposition and exaltation of the foreign one b) the establishment of differences between the colonized and colonizer and, c) the formation “of a race-based system” that benefits the colonizer politically, socially and economically “and subjugates the colonized” (David and Okazaki, 2006, p.3). Countries who suffered colonization, have created racial systems (such as whitening) that favor light skin individuals and mimics the race-based systems of the invasion period to dissociate themselves with the stereotypically inferior characteristics (David and Okazaki, 2006; Hall, 2003; Sánchez-Rivera, 2013). Concepts such as “internalized oppression” and “colonized mentality” have been used to describe the psychological effects at an individual -and collective- level that this fast-paced, but prolonged historical process still has today (David and Okazaki, 2006; Hall, 2003).

It has been found that regardless of the culture or historical background, colonized countries have created absolute-opposite associations with the colors “white” and “black.” Examples of these are the understanding of white as holiness/pureness, cleanness or richness, while the notion of black as demoness/impure, dirtiness or poorness (Hall, 2003; Sánchez-Rivera, 2013). Ravages of colonization in the form of racialization still present in many countries affecting identity formation at personal, community and national levels (Hill et al., 2010). This suggests that historically

colonized countries do not necessarily embrace their racial identity but, create new categories based on their cultural understanding of race, which is distant from the traditionally subjugated group (David and Okazaki, 2006; Hall, 2003).

Understanding the relationships between Places and Identity

Places are defined as locations or spaces to which humans attribute meaning (Devine-Wright, 2009; Hauge, 2007). Places do not necessarily possess geographic boundaries because they are constructed in the imagination of the person -or group- who has a particular relationship with them (Shamai and Ilatov, 2005). Places can be all continents, regions, countries, counties, cities, towns, neighborhoods, streets, specific buildings such as houses, or even rooms, depending on the individuals' definition (Gordon, 2010; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2011).

The difference between locations, spaces, and places is that locations are precise coordinates on the earth surface while spaces are physical locations or areas characterize for being abstracts or empties. For their part, places are multidimensional spaces to which people give a special significance. This means that locations and spaces continue being physical areas until people change their characteristics or traditional usages. The multidimensional essence of places causes them to have many layers that “cross geographical, historical and cultural boundaries refracted through prisms of ethnicity, gender, race, and class (Christou, 2006, p.33). The literature considers them to be “actively and continuously constructed and reconstructed” within peoples' minds who are usually informed about “their cultural, historical and spatial contexts” (Lengen

and Kistemann, 2012, p.1162). Places are an interesting phenomenon because even when they have physical characteristics (e.g., buildings) the understanding people have about them is what constitutes them as a social construction (Alkon and Traugot, 2008). These understandings of places suggest they depend on individuals to receive meaning or be transformed.

The process of transforming locations and spaces into places requires a personal (or group) investment that involves meanings and emotional attachments (Devine-Wright, 2009). The value given to places is the reason why they are “symbolic and physical dimensions of our identifications” (Carter et al., 1993, p. xii) because people change them, but their essence is not limited by time. Places are so important for people that it has been found that positive or negative meanings attributed to places can influence their overall well-being and have a direct effect on their health (Lengen and Kistemann, 2012). Even at a neurological level, individuals get so emotionally involved with places and contexts that the mere thought of them can trigger memories and physiological responses that at the same time, allow them to remember more details about the place (Lengen and Kistemann, 2012). In other words, describing the houses where we grew up can arouse emotions that will allow us to remember in more detail things about the house like the location of certain objects.

The literature emphasizes in how people make “place” daily through regular interactions (e.g., talking) because the cognitive processes involved in this kind of actions allow individuals to reflect on the meanings that a place has in their lives (Alkon and Traugot, 2008). Alkon and Traugot’s findings’ (2008) support that individuals’ understanding about a place influence their identities and the way they behave. Also,

the way individuals express about places provides information about their place-identity and place-attachment because “places are incorporated into the self, creating internalized objects that serve as sources of security in times of stress and isolation (Gordon, 2008). For example, local-residents are more likely to describe what they consider their community in a genuinely positive matter, and especially when they are comparing the place to other neighbor places that may refer to their community a negative way (Alkon and Traugot, 2008).

2.1.3 Place Identity, Attachment & Dependence as indexes of Sense of Place

The sense of place “has been defined as the combined set of the place meanings and place attachments that a person or a group develop for a place” (Semken and Freeman, 2008, p.136). Individuals with a stronger sense of place have “emotional bonds with the places and with their values, meanings, and symbols” (Lengen and Kistemann, 2012, p.1162). The Sense of Place is also an empirical measure designed to study people’s beliefs, feelings and behaviors towards certain places and, the strength of the meaning developed for them (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Empirical studies agree that the concept is composed of different sub-concepts: place identity, place attachment and place dependency, and that peoples’ sense of place varies by locations (Hay, 1998; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Lengen and Kistemann, 2012; Nanzer, 2004; Shamai, 1991; Shamai and Ilatov, 2005). The consensus about the use of these sub-concepts is still debatable because of their intrinsic overlap and often interchangeably use, but primarily because the three have different theories already

developed around them (Hauge, 2007; Lewicka, 2008; Shamai and Ilatov, 2005; Williams et al. 2010).

Different from the other identity dimensions, place-identity does not require others to recognize the individual's membership because it alludes to the cognitive aspects of the self. Place-Identity refers explicitly to the individuals' relationship with the environment and how they define their personal identity in relation to their physical environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 147; Lewicka, 2008). An example of this is when people use places to distinguish themselves from others, for example, "I'm from x country" or "I'm from y city." According to Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), individuals do this because it supports their identity's motivational principles of continuity, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (See section Main Conceptual Framework: Identity according to the Identity Process Theory).

Place-Identity's self-identification involves "a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155). This means that Place-Identity possesses the same characteristics of other identity dimensions, but it deepens into the memories and relationships that include -or exclude- individuals to a physical environment (Williams et al., 2010). Place-identity should not be confused with National or Ethnic identities because individuals' place-identity can vary by geographical scale, meaning inside the same country they could feel more attached to a community than to the political border (e.g., nation or county).

For its part, Place-Attachment can be considered part of the bigger picture that constitutes Place-Identity. This concept invokes the emotional bond that people

develop with places based on their knowledge and behavioral relationships with it (Devine-Wright, 2009; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). This concept refers to the positive emotional meanings to a place and what it symbolizes to the person or group who live there (Shamai, 1991). Lewicka (2008) supports that being aware of a place's history increases place-attachment and, that consequently, people who have a certain degree of attachment to a place is more likely to be more interested in knowing about the place's past. In the case of place attachment, the time spent in a place is not as important as "the quality and intensity of the experiences" lived in it (Gordon, 2010 p.757). For example, someone who has lived in a community for a long time is more likely to be attached to the place, not for the length of the period but because the strong social ties and more cherished memories he/she has created there.

Lastly, Place-Dependence is the way in how the place satisfies the needs, goals and lifestyle activities of the individual compared to other places (Semken and Freeman, 2009). This dimension implies a reflective process of how the person perceives him/herself having a life outside of the place. It also covers aspects of how unexpected changes affect negatively peoples' lives and their plans. This concept is different from the previous two because an individual can have a strong place-identity and place-attachment to place but considers him/herself unable to accomplish its goals there. An example of this are the economic migrants, who usually leave their country to achieve better opportunities for themselves or their families, regardless of how much they feel they love their country of origin.

Main Conceptual Framework: Identity according to the IPT

The Identity Process Theory (IPT) studies processes that drive identity construction and how people build systems to interpret and “make sense of their lives, experiences and identities” (Jaspal et al., 2014 p. 5). The theory refers to two universal identity processes “evaluation” and “assimilation” that are continually revisited by individuals. These processes can be revisited even multiple times a day, depending on the context and conditions when the individual understands it is necessary. Figure 2.1 shows “evaluation process” and “assimilation process” at the bottom because they can be understood as the ultimate goal to achieve a positive overall identity where the individual feel content with her/his sense of self (Bardi et al., 2014). The theory also suggests that these processes occur, not only to the person's identity structure as a whole, but for every identity dimension the individual has, for example, gender, religion, ethnic and national. The evaluation process happens because the person needs to understand how good or bad a particular identity is for her/him to be part of a group who shares the same identity. For its part, assimilation, also known as the accommodation process, is how a person includes new information in her/his identity structure after being evaluated (Bardi et al, 2004).

Starting from the top of Figure 2.1, the diagram shows the "levels of interdependence" which means the way how people construct "reality" at intrapsychic level through interpersonal and group interactions (Bardi et al, 2004). This “reality” is an interpretation of the social world and, the IPT refers to it as “social representation.” “Social representations emerge through interpersonal and intergroup communication” (Bardi et, al., 2004, p.4) and they are subjected to social contexts such as culture. Social

contexts are mostly considered as “established,” however there are factors (e.g., education, political stands, social movements) that can challenge established social representations and transform their statuses to “evolving.” Figure 2.1 suggests that once the “evolving social representation” is openly accepted in the social context, it can transform into “established” until social change occurs again.

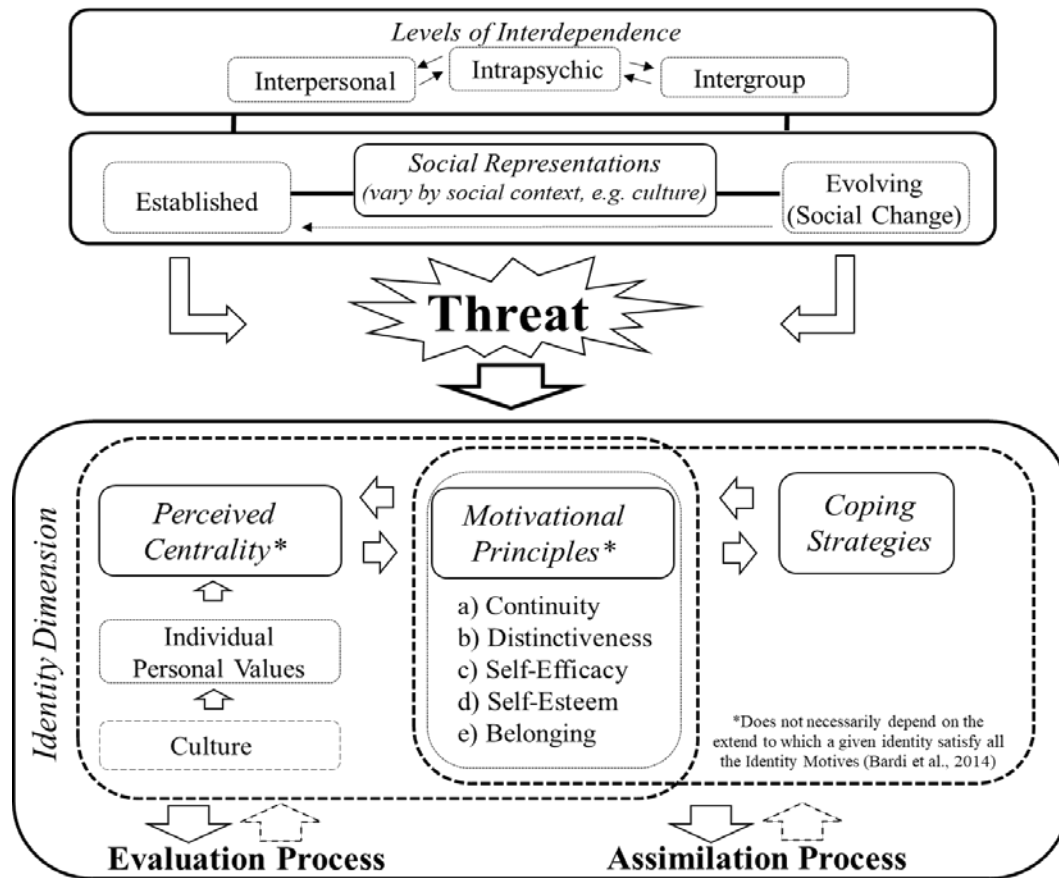


Figure 2.1 Identity Process Theory Author based on Baldi et al., (2004)

One of the IPT’s essential statements is that the processes of creating personal and social identities are practically the same and the best way to study what drives identity construction is understanding how people react when their identity is under

threat (Jaspal et al., 2014). Bardi et al. (2014) imply that in many cases, a threat emerges from the collision between at least one of the identity's dimensions and an established social representation. In other words, if the person's identity dimension does not go along with his/her social reality, that diversion can transform into a threat. The individual recognizes a threat because it affects her/his "perceived centrality." Perceived centrality is composed of three dimensions that define how important the threaten identity is for the person, how happy she/him feels to have it and how much she/him publicly adopt it in "everyday actions and interpersonal encounters" (Bardi et al., 2014, p.5). Bardi et al. (2014) support that perceived centrality is directly influenced by individual personal values which at the same time are dictated, in part, by her/his culture. The diagram shows "culture" in two different areas (on top of "Threat" and under "Individual and Personal Values") because, even when the IPT does not specifically separate the effects of culture in "perceived centrality" and "social representation," this study wanted to represent that culture can be part, but it is not totally responsible, of the social context.

The IPC holds that when the perceived centrality of an identity dimension is threatened the person reverts to the motivational principles that satisfy their dimension's structure. This study considers five of the motivational capacities: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, self-esteem, and belonging. (Bardi et al., 2004; Add More References). Figure 2.1 shows a "star" to indicate that not all the identity dimensions need to fulfill all the motivational principles because the capacity in which each motivational principle is affected also depends on culture and social contexts. Lastly, the theory also supports that when perceived centrality is under threat,

individuals employ coping strategies that activate motivational principles, so the person can successfully face the threat. Figure 2.1 tries to show how the processes are multidirectional because individuals keep evaluating and accommodating the identity dimension until the perceived centrality is re-achieved, meaning that the “threat” is no longer seemed like a threat.

2.1.4 IPT compared to the Social Identity Theory and the Place-Identity Theory

The IPT has been considered an integrative theoretical framework to study the interrelation that exists between people, places and social changes (Jaspal et al., 2014). Popular identity theories such as Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Place-Identity Theory (PIT) have considered places as social categories or aspects of self-identity, similar to gender, race, ethnicity or social class (Hauge, 2007). Both, the SIT and the PIT have contributed in significant ways to the understanding of place and its importance when influencing identity. For example, the SIT refers to place as a “social marker... or a symbol of an ideology or group” (Hauge, 2007, p.48). However, SIT focuses mainly on how people see themselves in relation to their group’s membership. This means that SIT considers that, the processes of how people identify with places is similar to the processes of how people identify with groups (Hauge, 2007, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). For its part, the PIT recognizes that some social categories such as “social class” and “ethnicity” have physical dimensions and that “place” is one of them. Although PIT notices that places help to support the definition of self-identity, it focuses more on people’s role on the environment and fails to consider place as an

element of identity that is “part of many different categories because they... contain symbols of class, gender, family and other social roles” (Hauge, 2007, p.48).

2.1.5 Material Environments and the Motivational Principles

The importance of the IPT for this study is that it supports that place is used as a strategy to maintain the self and “is one of the few social psychological theories that acknowledge how material environments facilitate identity construction” (Jaspal et al., 2014, p.272). According to the IPT, the methods that allow people to build person-place relationships are the same that they use to create their own identity and suggests that there is no need of a different theory to explain the phenomena (Hauge, 2007; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). Hauge (2007) suggests that, different from the SIT and PIT which consider places as social categories, the IPT considers place as a manifestation of those social categories which can be classified along with attitudes, behavior, language, or activities done by the individuals.

The IPT framework has also studied the importance that material environments have in support of the motivational principles -distinctiveness, belonging, esteem, continuity, and efficacy- itself (Jaspal et al., 2014). Researchers (Dixon et al., 2014) support that people use physical environments to make sense of their roles and relations with the people who live on them and that the principles motivate these introspective processes. Person-place relationships are promoted by “distinctiveness” because people change the environment (ex. houses or communities) so they can reflect who they are as individuals or groups. An example of this can be how ethnic groups transform US communities such as Chinatowns, Little Italys or Barrios Latinos. For its

part, the motivational principle of “belonging” covers two most important aspects, how well people feel about knowing their surroundings and, how others consider them to be part of the environment (Jaspal et al., 2014). This implies that “belonging” requires not only the personal opinion about feeling part of the place but being validated and accepted by others who also live there.

The third motivational principle, “esteem,” refers to the expressions that a person or group make about the place where they live, especially positive distinctions they do compare to other places. This principle explains how an individual will express about the place, knowing that others would judge her/him based on what s/he says. The person-place relationship based on “esteem” implies that the person is aware of how outsiders construct her/his place but still willing to accept the consequences of identifying with it. For its part, the fourth motivational principle, “Continuity,” supports that one of the ways in how people construct identity is stability (Jaspal et al., 2014). This principle is based on how strong and endure the person thinks his/her connection with a place is, including how it has been and s/he projects it to be over the time. The interpretation of the principle suggests that this feeling-of-connection does not have to be validated by other members but that it is a more personal reflection. Finally, “self-efficacy” in the person-place relation refers to how much individuals think they can be themselves in this place. The motivational principle also explains how people believe the other members in that place value their expressions. Again, this principle seems to be based on the individual’s perception and does not necessarily require validation. (Jaspal et al., 2014).

2.1.6 Threats to Material Environments and Coping Strategies

Dixon et al. (2014) dedicate a chapter to person-place relationships, acknowledging that material environments, or places, forward identity construction and play a role in “defining our sense of who we are” (Jaspal et al., 2014 p.272). They (Dixon et al., 2014) also support that place-identity is established through daily experiences and it is a phenomenon “created rather than perceived or experienced” (p.290) because people react to changes in places. Figure 2.2 shows the researcher’s interpretation of the Dixon et al.’s chapter (2014) is included in the IPT framework based on Bardi et al.’s paper (2004). The diagram shows how changes in places are perceived as threats to identity because they produce behavioral reactions. Figure 2.2 interprets this as the implication of changes to the environment as “threats” (Dixon et al., 2014) because of the effect this change causes to perceived centrality.

Figure 2.2 varies from Figure 2.1 because it indicates a specific coping strategy, mainly driven by the five motivational principles. The arrows that point in the direction and towards “Coping Strategies” named “Re-negotiation of the Physical Environment’s meaning” show Dixon et al.’s (2014) interpretation of how people have to reinterpret a) the significance of the place for them and b) what the environmental change represents to them. In the chapter, the reinterpretation of the threat was achieved by engaging in different practices, such as “geographical mobility, “distanciation from the source of threat’ and ‘compartmentalization of the threat to insulate psychologically from the event that was difficult to reconcile the identity with” (Dixon et al., 2014; p.274). In other words, Dixon et al. (2014) suggested that the renegotiation of the

meaning of “place” is achieved by the employment of coping strategies which at the same time are motivated by the five principles.

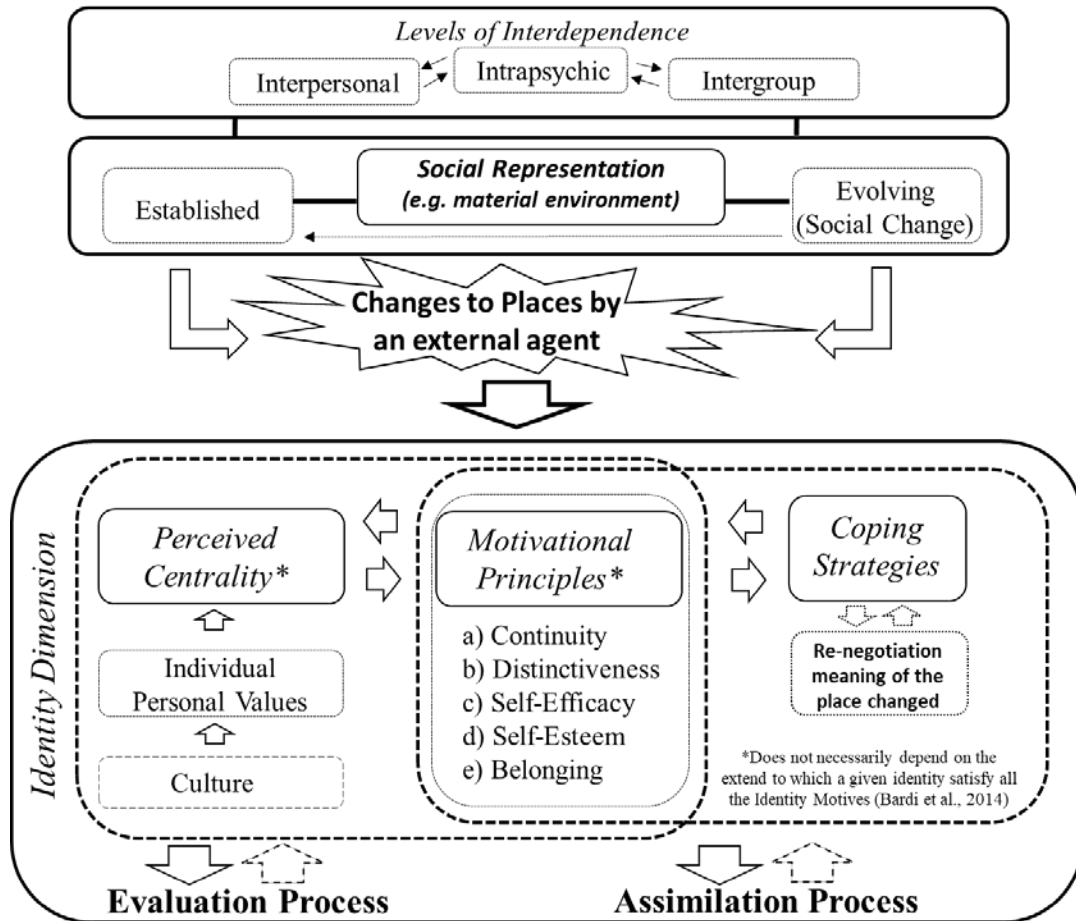


Figure 2.2 Place according to IPT: Author based on Baldi et al.(2004) and Dixon et al. (2014)

2.1.7 Contributions of this research to the Identity Process Theory

This research considers the Identity Process Theory (IPT) as the ideal framework to understand race and place in Puerto Rico but it also challenges some of its positions referring to the role of place in the identity dimensions’ processes and overall identity structure. The research finds the IPT appropriate to the case of Puerto

Rico because it studies how an individual entails a set of cognitive, affective and behavioral processes that serve to express a kind of ‘inner trauma’ and what ‘motivate behaviors that regulate that trauma in order to maintain identity’” (Jaspar et al., 2014 p.281). The study refers the “inner trauma” as “colonized mentality” and “whitening” that persists in the Island (David and Okazaki, 2006; Hall, 2003; Sánchez-Rivera et al., 2016) because of the personal and social motivations Puerto Ricans have to climb up in the racial and social hierarchies ingrown in a culture that favors European-like characteristics.

However, this research differs from the IPT in the way it explains the contributions of place to identity. For example, the IPT focuses on the study of threats as the mechanism to understand the creation of identity, but it supports that places have the “capacity to act as arenas of the motivational principles (Jaspar et al., 2014, p.274). This means that threat -or changes- to physical environments are the only moment when people evaluate and renegotiate the meaning they have of places. Also, that the five principles -distinctiveness, belonging, esteem, continuity, and efficacy- motivate the renegotiation that helps individuals to cope with the changes to these places in order to achieve centrality. This study agrees with this but finds that the IPT might be limiting the role of physical environments and considering them passive agents in the identity creation processes.

Secondly, the IPT considers places as manifestations of identity and classifies them along with behaviors, language, activities or attitudes (Hauge, 2007). The theory supports that people change their physical environments so they can go along with the narrative they create about themselves (Dixon et al., 2014). This means that the reason

why places are considered manifestations is because of the assumption that physical environments are created by the individual or group who lives in them. Again, this understanding is also based on the notion that places assist the motivational principles in support of perceived centrality. This study argues that some identity dimensions, such as the national or ethnic, exist around the construction of places that were created and promoted by external agents (e.g., government) and not by the individual or group.

In this same line, this study adds a geographic perspective to the theory denoting that in the same way the IPT supports that social representations vary by culture, and culture is based on place. This statement is not only founded on the location-component of a region -or geopolitical border- that organically contributes to a culture in aspects such as food, cloth, dialects, oral traditions and others, but also in the narratives created around the place. This means that culture is based on the construction of place because the idea of culture is always tied to the country or region where that culture belongs and what has been told about it, for example through history. In other words, this research argues that the physical component of place gets the most attention when studying them while the process of their construction is often overlooked.

In summary, this study would like to offer a different approach when considering the role of places in the processes of creating and supporting identity. This research will contribute to the IPT considering scenarios in which physical environments and the person or group who live in the place did not actively participate in its creation. The study also shows that culture cannot be separated from the narratives created around a place (e.g. country, nation, geopolitical border, a region).

Finally, the study will achieve these goals considering three threats to identity in different scenarios in Puerto Rico and reflecting on how the meaning of “place” is re-visited by participants when coping with the threat and, the influence that external agents in the process of creating places. Are places only manifestation of the self? Can they purposefully be created by external agents, such as the government for economic and ‘cultural’ reasons, and directly influence the population’s identity? Is the meaning of places revisited even when physical environments are not under threat, but another identity dimension is?

Summary

This chapter defined the concept of identity and how it is created through daily processes. It also discusses the differences between ethnic, national and racial identities and their approaches to places. The chapter dedicates a section to define places and compares them to spaces and locations. This part establishes how people-places relationships can be measured by using the scale of Sense of Place. That section describes the differences between the Sense of Place indexes: Place-Identity, Place-Attachment and Place-Dependence and establishes why they should not be used interchangeably. Lastly, the study presents the main theoretical background based on the Identity Process Theory and discusses how this study about places can contribute to the framework.

Chapter 3: Puerto Rico, Loíza & Canóvanas and, the four study sites

“The Puerto Rican society has always been divided into classes and... like in every divided society, two cultures co-exist, the oppressors’ and the oppressed, and if what it’s known as “national culture” is generally the oppressors’ culture, then is unavoidable to recognize that what in Puerto Rico we have understood as “national culture” is the culture produced by the yeoman’s and professionals’ class...

-Author’s translation of Gonzalez (1984, pag.18)

Introduction

Chapter 3 explains why this study considers the idea of Puerto Rico as a "racially mixed country" constructed by the Puerto Rican government. The quote above (Gonzalez, 1984) describes that even when more than one culture existed in Puerto Rico, only one was selected as the official. The chapter explains that this imposition has been always present but it started to be actively transferred to the population when the Puerto Rican government felt that the inhabitants’ identity was under the threat of the foreign US culture. The chapter also describes some of the racial dynamics that have resulted from that imposition, and how they have influenced racial identification. In the second section, the chapter discusses the history behind Loíza's split and some of the political, racial and social class aspects that hastened the process. This part refers to how the government takes part of a municipio’s existing history, decided to highlight just certain aspects, and create an image of exoticism around Loiza. Lastly, the third

section is dedicated to describing the four study sites and, the socio-economic differences and similarities that justified their selections.

Puerto Rico: Role of the Government in the creation of National and Cultural Identity and its effects on the General population

3.1.1 Colonial Status and the creation of the Puerto Rican Institute of Culture

After the United States' invasion put an end to the Spaniard regime in 1898, the Island was incorporated as a US territory. In 1952, Puerto Rico was officially titled Estado Libre Asociado (ELA), literally translated as the "Free-Associate State" but mistranslated in the US as Commonwealth (Díaz-Garayúa, 2014). This new political status allowed Puerto Rico to draft a constitution under approval of the US and adopt a flag that would differentiate the country from its previous condition as protected territory (Rivera-Batiz, 2005).

The ELA status in Puerto Rico has been mainly supported by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) which openly identifies with the US Democratic Party. The PPD was founded (1938) and chaired by Luis Muñoz-Marín, who took power in 1948 as the first Puerto Rican governor elected by Puerto Ricans. He was re-elected four times until 1964 when he decided not to run for another term but many Puerto Ricans thought he should have stayed in politics longer. After the establishment of the ELA, Muñoz-Marín developed the idea of "Puerto Ricannes" (Dávila, 1997; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006). The initiative pursued the strength of the national-cultural Puerto Rican identity to protect the population from the substantial and rapidly growing US cultural

influence (Dávila, 1997). In 1955, the Puerto Rican government created the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (ICP) -Institute of Puerto Rican Culture- with the goal of preserving and promoting what was a going to be constituted as “cultural heritage”. The Institute installed branches at the national and municipio level to help supporting its initiative at two levels. The ICP became a political entity responsible for executing public policies related to the development of arts, humanities and culture in the Island (18 L.P.R.A. § 1198, sec. 4). It is important to mention that eight of the nine board members are appointed by the governor in power depending on the qualifications s/he believes these members have.

Evolution of the Jíbaro Puertorriqueno Early after the creation of the IPC, the Institute selected the Jíbaro as the representation of the real Puerto Rican. It is important to understand that the Jíbaro is also part of the Popular Democratic Party’s logo (See Figure 3.1) and that its selection was not a coincidence because Muñoz-Marín and



Figure 3.1 Popular Democratic Party’s Logo

the PPD targeted the poor Puerto Ricans from the mountains as part of his voters’ recruitment strategy (Dávila, 1997; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006). Today, the image of el Jíbaro implies some degree of a racial mix but, according to the history presented by the ICP and most of the Puerto Rican authors, the group is the Spaniard’s offspring born in the Island. Phenotypically, they are understood as a tanned light-skinned person whose color is the product of long hours of hard agrarian work under the sun. Other phenotypical characteristics include dark brown eyes, black wavy or straight hair, and European-like facial features.

Nonetheless, the image of the Jíbaro has not always enjoyed the same popularity. Before the 1900's, writers residing in Spain used the model of the Puerto Rican peasant as a political strategy. These writers did not identify with this working and poor class because they were part of the elite but, found in the image of the peasants a good way to criticize the Spanish empire without suffering consequences (Torres-Robles, 1999). In their pieces, the authors mocked the peasants and portrayed them

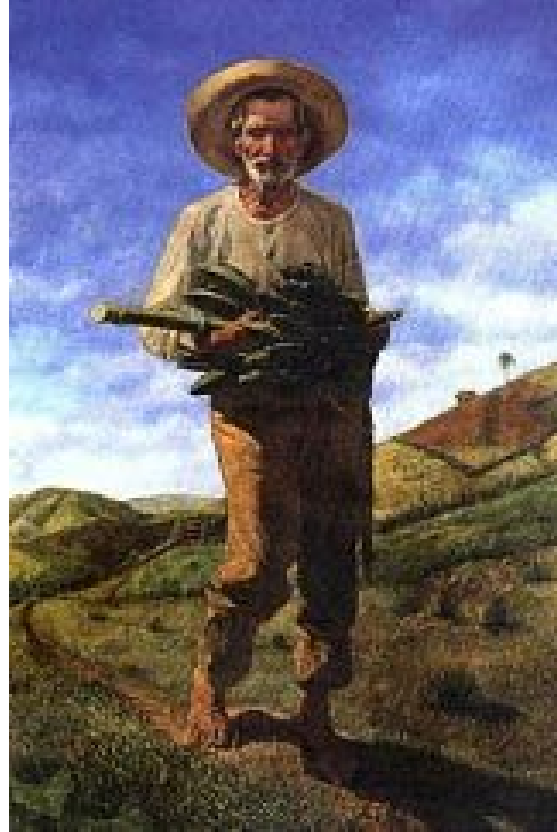


Figure 3.2 Painting "El Pan Nuestro" (Our bread)

as "promiscuous, polygamists, a product of incest, alcoholic, violent, gamblers and irresponsible" (Torres-Robles, 1999, p.245) among other derogative characteristics. It is not until the 1900's, during the Puerto Rican Modern Literary Era, that poets and writers started romanticizing the peasants and idealizing them as "hard workers, patriotic, and lovers of rooster fighting, music, and dances" (Torres-Robles, 1999, p.246) and changing their images to more educated Whites (See Figure 3.2).

In 1930's intellectuals from the elite started wondering about what constituted "Puerto Ricanness" after noticing the strong US presence in the Island. Torres-Robles (1999) describes that these authors had to "force themselves to seek for refuge into the rural traditionalism that they despised until that moment" and "started defining Puerto

Ricannes regarding mother-tongue, culture and Spanish traditions” (p. 248). This is why Gonzalez (1980) in the quote presented at the beginning of this chapter, demanded that Puerto Rican’s elite version of history has been imposed over the population and promoted as native. In other words, the construction of what Puerto Rico and its national pride is today, it is just part of the history.

Torres-Robles (1999) discusses that only two authors attempted presenting a different perspective of the “White” Jíbaro and tried incorporating the idea of the Afro-Puerto Rican as the first kind of Puerto Rican. Their arguments were focused on the White elite’s perspective of history as the most valued and accepted version of it. In their appeals, they criticized the selection of the jíbaro as a failing attempt to define a Puerto Rican identity portraying the image of a “racially, socially and culturally mixed Puerto Rico” but forgetting the complex and dynamic nature of “multicultural and multiracial Caribbean societies” (Torres-Robles, 1999, p.250).

These debates between writers were happening before and during the period when the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture was founded. However, despite these conversations both the PPD and the institute selected the Jíbaro to represent "Puerto Ricannes" even when the image excluded the population from the coast and the northeast part of Island who has darker skin and different realities from the elite or those in the central part (Godreau et al., 2008; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006). The idea of what was going to constitute “Puerto Ricannes” started to be transferred to the population after the US took over the Island when the government felt the population’s identity was under the threat of a foreign culture.

3.1.2 Belief of Racial Harmony

The ICP decided to recognize the history of miscegenation as one of the cultural values to promote. The understanding of Puerto Rico as a product of Taínos, Spaniards and, Africans is so important for the Institute that the three groups are portrayed in its official seal. As part of its goal to promote values, the Institute associated with the Department of Education which included a specific narrative as part the Puerto Rican's history curriculum. Part of the philosophy taught in schools supports the notion of Puerto Rico as a place of racial equality and color blindness (Duany, 1989; Godreau, 2000; Godreau et al., 2008; Quiñones, 2006) even when the groups are portrayed differently.

Taínos (Native Indians) is the only group associated with all good characteristics. They are portrayed as martyrs who died fighting for their freedom and are related to the indomitable spirit and perseverance that characterizes the Puerto Rican culture (Godreau, 2008). This connotation has created a feeling described as 'romanticization' of the native population that attributes more contributions to the group than can be empirically proved (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992). This is one of the Department of Education's preferred groups when asking parents to dress their children up to celebrate El Día de la Puertorriqueñidad (Day of Puerto Ricans) (See Figure 3.3).

The history books used in school show a strong preference for Spaniards and feature them as the main contributors to many cultural aspects such as language, food, and dances (Godreau et al., 2008). These attributions create mixed



Figure 3.3 Children celebrating El Día de la Puertorriqueñidad at school. Source: Frances0013 (2010)

feelings among the general population because they are also perceived as abusive conquerors, who killed Taínos and enslaved Africans. When the population considers aspects such as the Native genocide and African kidnap, Spaniards are viewed as selfish “parasites” with only interest in economic gain (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992). However, when they are considered responsible for tangible contributions to the modern culture - they are the most valorized among the three groups. In fact, according to Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, (1992) Spaniard (Whites) is the racial group to whom the society identified the most, even though Puerto Ricans are predominantly mulattos.

Different from the other two groups, Africans are regularly portrayed as slaves. Efforts to promote the contributions of Africans to the Puerto Rican culture have found that the society is acutely racist and that their heritage has been ignored, devalued and dehumanized (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992). Different from what the general population thinks, Africans were responsible for the construction of forts, buildings, and roads that are considered part of the Spanish

architectural heritage in the Island. Africans and their offspring were also crucial for Puerto Rico's economic system before and after the abolition of slavery and defending Puerto Rico from invasions and other attempts of European colonization. The general knowledge produced by the ICP has not increased the appreciation of Africans and Afro-Puerto Rican but to promote a broken image of Blacks that have helped to the creation of dissociative feeling from the cultural -racial- group (Godreau et al. 2008).

3.1.3 Repercussions of a Narrative that Undervalues the African root

The argument of Puerto Ricans as a racially-mixed population has been used to claim that racism does not exist in the Island (Godreau, 2000). However, over the years, there has been a consistent pattern of whitening (Loveman, 2007), where an overwhelming amount of Puerto Ricans have identified as Whites on US Censuses (80% in 2000 and 75% in 2010). This is not particular of Puerto Rico, in fact, it happens in almost every Latin American and Caribbean country (Duany, 1998; Espiritu, 1996; Hall, 2003) because “being perceived Whiter than others Blacks, or less Black”, is associated with a “higher social prestige, estimation and, a large economic reward” (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992; p.21). Studies suggest that being considered Black in Puerto Rico could be a social stressor, mainly because the stereotypes can label them as Dominicans (Gravlee, 2005; Sánchez-Rivera, 2013). The denial of the African heritage and the process of Whitening is considered part of the legacy of colonization because of the unconscious need of being considered similar to the colonizers (Espiritu, 1996; E.J.R and Okazaki, 2006; Quiñones, 2006; Rogler, 1944). These reasons added to the fact that the options given by the question are not

culturally sensitive for the Puerto Rican context (Godreau, 2000) generate confusion and the over-representation of Whites that have been noticed even after campaigns against the use of the racial category.

3.1.4 Whitening and the report of Race in the US Censuses

In respond to concerns from Latino communities the US Census added Question 8, which asks about the Hispanic/Latino origin. The new item appears right before the question about Race, and the expected answer is the person's ethnic background (i.e., Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican, etc.). The question has helped to differentiate White-Caucasians from White-Hispanics in the US mainland, but it has not been able to solve two significant problems. First, it has not stopped a large proportion of Latinos (both in the US and PR) from selecting “Other Race” and writing in their ethnic origin (e.g. Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican) because they find that the options White or Black does not satisfy their definitions of race (See Figure 3.4). This is created, in part, by the same options provided by the US Census, who considers ethnic groups, mainly Asians (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, etc.) as different racial groups. The different definition of race added to the example of choices given leads the person to write his/her ethnic group. The second problem is particular to Puerto Rico and is the reason why this question should not be included in the US Census version made for the Island. Because approximately 98% of the population living in Puerto Rico is Puerto Rican (Hispanic/Latino origin), the question does not offer much statistical value beside identifying Dominicans and Cubans who are the two largest immigrant groups living in the Island.

The false amount of Whites reflected in the Puerto Rican statistics allows some identification of socioeconomic inequalities for the general population (Rivera-Batíz, 2005; Vargas-Ramos, 2005; Vargas-Ramos, 2016) but makes it difficult to study residential segregation that could be related to race (Denton and Villarrubia, 2007) or skin color in the Island (Landale and

→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

☒ Yes, Puerto Rican

☐ Yes, Cuban

☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on. ↗

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark *X* one or more boxes.

☒ White

☒ Black, African Am., or Negro

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↗

☐ Asian Indian ☐ Japanese ☐ Native Hawaiian

☐ Chinese ☐ Korean ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro

☐ Filipino ☐ Vietnamese ☐ Samoan

☐ Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↗

☐ Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↗

☒ Some other race — Print race. ↗

Puerto Rican, Trigueño (Wheat Color), Hispanic/ Latino

Figure 3.4 2010 US Census Question 8 and 9

Oropesa, 2002). For this reason, understanding the factors that influence how Puerto Ricans think about race is vital to statistically confirm the existence of discrimination as a social problem and lack of socioeconomic opportunities that many dark-skinned communities are suffering in the Island.

Loíza and Canóvanas: The split and adoption of new identities

3.1.5 Loíza under the Spanish government

The names of Loíza and Canóvanas refer to two Native Indian chiefs from the Northeastern region of the Island. Loíza's original territory comprised what is known today as Loíza and Canóvanas. Loízas as a Spanish settlement was founded after

Spaniards found gold in the Rio Grande de Loíza (river). After finding the valuable metal in different places around the Island, Spaniards enslaved the Native population that were left in the area and used them for the extraction of gold until the job's hardships and diseases killed them all. Right after the Native population died, Spaniards incorporated the African labor and started to use the area for agricultural purposes (Alegría, 1956). The rapid economic growth that the Northeast area was experiencing provided an opportunity for the creation of Loíza, and the town was officially recognized in 1719. The concentration of African slaves peaked with the increasing demand of sugar and, quickly it became the town with the highest concentration of "Negros" in the Island (Alegría, 1956).

El Código Negro, a code granted by Spain, allowed slaves to buy their freedom if their masters were willing to sell it to them (Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico, 2005). Although the process of obtaining the freedom was not easy, many of the freedmen and cimarrón –from Puerto Rico and other Caribbean Islands- started to settle near the northeastern region. This region comprises what is today the municipios of Loíza and Canóvanas, their adjacent municipios Carolina, Rio Grande and Luquillo and, parts of San Juan. The settlement of the former slaves in the area became vital for the defense of the Island against the British invasion in 1797 because it took place at the entrance of Rio Grande de Loíza. After the Abolition of Slavery in 1873, the demographic composition of the area remained unchanged. The new free Afro-Puerto Rican population started to settle along to the coastal areas in the Medianías and near to the haciendas where they worked (Alegría, 1956). Although this area received the higher numbers of African libertos, this population had a strong presence in the entire Island

and there are other communities outside of this region who acknowledge this heritage and self-identify as Afro-Puerto Ricans.

3.1.6 Loíza after the US occupation of Puerto Rico

After the occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898, the US government decided that there were too many administrative divisions on the Island and that this format was not convenient structure for the Island's economic development. This led to a consolidation of several counties, in which Loíza -and its ward Canóvanas- were joined to their eastern neighbor municipio, Rio Grande. However, conflict of interest with the local parties made the US to repeal the law and, three years later (1905) the some of the counties -including Loíza and its barrio Canóvanas- re-constituted their former borders (Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico, 2005).

3.1.7 Split of Loíza and Creation of Canóvanas

With the construction of the Island's central road system, Loíza-Aldea (today also known as Loíza-Pueblo) became geographically isolated (Alegría, 1956) because the only road that directed there was not paved. In 1910, Loíza's administration is officially moved from Loíza-Aldea to Canóvanas mainly because of its convenient location near to #3 Road (See Appendix A). This administrative change reduced Loíza-Aldea to a barrio without considering its political importance or the economic impacts this transition would have on the adjacent barrios. The economic decline affected the small business and raised discomfort among the population living near the coast, but the biggest problem was the emotional impact it had on the residents (Rivera-Correa,

1974). Even today, over forty-five years later, residents talk with nostalgia about how much the split affected Loíza-Pueblo's economy and the municipio never recover from it (See Chapter 7).

The following forty-five years, were filled with petitions to return the county's central office to Loíza-Aldea, restore the area and make Loíza-Aldea an independent administrative core, different from the one in Canóvanas. It is important understand that the only interest that the residents from the northern part of the municipio had was to reestablish Loíza-Aldea as their administrative center. Sadly, external agents, such as the media (specifically the newspaper), and other political interests, worsened the situation and misled Loíza's residents and their public opinions (Rivera-Correa, 1974). The counties were officially split in 1972, despite the population's opposition and the reasons to impose the new borders still not clear even when there was a plebiscite to vote on three versions of the map.

The economic decline of Loíza-Pueblo was a well-known consequence of transferring the administrative core because the proposal of splitting the counties was mainly motivated by political interests. The pronounced affiliation of communities to particular parties, made the politicians realize that the split was the best choice to get votes. Although this hypothesis was never openly accepted, dividing Loíza favored the main parties, the PPD (Popular Democratic Party) and the PNP (New Progressive Party), and helped them to gain significant political support (Rivera-Correa, 1974). This was important for both parties because approximately 90% those from the southern areas of the county (those barrios that are now part of Canóvanas) supported the PPD while 90% of the residents from the northern area (barrios that are now from

Loíza) were PNP supporters. For the parties dividing the municipios would imply having a county each where they could win instead of having one that would be difficult to predict. At its beginnings (1967), the PNP targeted the Afro-Puerto Ricans in the area close to Loíza-Aldea and offered them to fight for their rights in the same way that United States was granting racial equality to the African-American population (Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006). The promise was so effective that from that moment until the 2016, Loíza voted strictly PNP. In fact, Rivera-Correa (1974) states that the PNP won its first elections in the Island with an unconditional help of voters from Loíza.

This study argues that the split of Loíza and the recognition of Canóvanas as an independent municipio was the most direct result of how the government created them as places. This research states that the Puerto Rican government, at both national and municipal level, created the municipios as socially different when they agreed to vote on the split knowing that there were some class, economic, and racial interests of the Canóvanas elite involved. The Senate is also responsible of their creation as economically unequal places at the moment they voted knowing that the viability-study conducted by the Planning Committee gave the economic advantage to one municipio over the other (Hiraldó and Ortega-Brena, 2006). And finally, the government as an entity confirmed the creation of them politically different by imposing a an uneven political border when the plebiscite process for selecting it was not transparent and, it was clear that general the residents were confused about what was happening (Rivera-Correa, 1974).

3.1.8 Selection of Different Racial Identities and the Racialization of Loíza

After the split, the branch of the ICP created identities to distinguish the new Loíza and Canóvanas from the rest of the counties. As part of the project, both municipios adopted different racial identities. The topic of how Loíza's racial composition contributed to the split is known (Rivera-Correa, 1974) but it has not been widely acknowledged or documented. Figure 3. Shows the 2010 US Census data on Race for both counties. On the map, the population who answered "Black" is limited to the northern area of Loíza, and while moving south, the proportion of those who answered "Black" decreases while those identified as "White" increases. The areas of the border show more diverse responses, including higher proportions of people who select "Other Race." Even when Canóvanas' population can be considered racially mixed and has a high proportion of dark-skinned individuals, their racial identity as Africans or Blacks is not as strong as those dark-skinned living in Loíza. In fact, Loíza residents maintain that people from Canóvanas discriminate against them and want to differentiate themselves in all possible ways using their "Canóvanas" residency as a whitening strategy (Hernández-Hiraldo, 2006).

In general, the adoption of the municipios characteristics by the ICP are partially associated with their history but their narratives are undoubtedly imposed over the populations because they are important part of their local tourist strategies (Hernández-Hiraldo, 2006). Today, Loíza is known as the Capital of Tradition, while Canóvanas grasped the Native Indian identity, proclaiming itself as the "Cradle of Indians." By doing this, Canóvanas took over the Native Indian identity and started

celebrating it through statues and the festivities such as “The Festival of Corn” even when this crop is not cultivated in the municipio. The construction of Loiza, on the other hand, is more complicated.

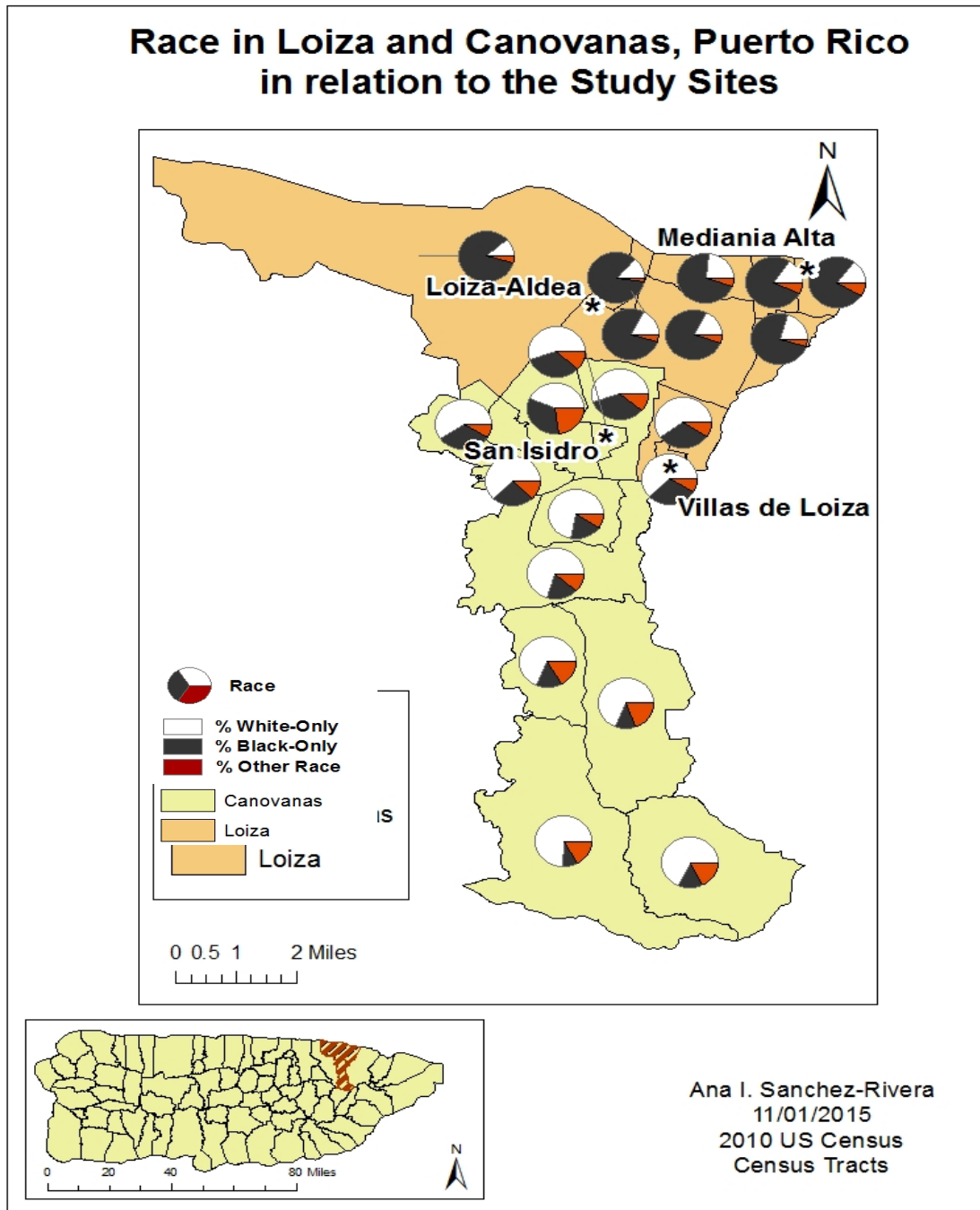


Figure 3.5 Race in Loiza and Canóvanas, 2010

It is an undeniable fact that Loíza is the only majority self-identified Black municipio in the Island (2010 US Census), and that it is one of the few that openly shares its African heritage through festivals, music, dances and, food. The construction of Loiza as the “Capital of Tradition,” is accurate when considering the integration of the Spanish and African traditions. This cognomen becomes more relevant if it considers the history behind its name (Yuisa) and hieroglyphics found in Marias de la Cruz Cave that evoke the presence of some pre-Columbus civilization in the area. However, the construction of Loíza has been racialized, especially by how the government at national and municipal levels grants money for its development and tourism (Hernández-Hiraldo and Ortega-Brena, 2006). The importance of “selling” folklore for Loiza has been so directed that the general Puerto Rican use the construction of Loiza and “Black” as part of their denial of Blackness (Quiñones, 2006).

For example, the association of Loiza and the *bomba* is so strong that many Puerto Ricans believe the music style was created in this municipio and lose sight that the *bomba* has never been limited to one municipio or even to the Island (Dufrasne-González, 2017). It is undoubtedly true that Loiza developed its own *bomba* style, the *seis corrido*, and has one of the iconic families (Ayala) that have contributed to the international promotion of it. However, the music style and the *bomba* drums are present, with variants in rhythm, in many formerly colonized countries that received Africans. Even if we take the case of Puerto Rico, we find that style originated in Mayagüez, a municipio in the Western side of the Island, and evolved in Ponce and Guayama, in the South. Also, even before family Ayala, the main exponents, performer

and responsible to preserve what the Puerto Rican *bomba* is today, was Rafael Cepeda and his family from Santurce, a barrio in San Juan.

Study Sites: Socioeconomic Characteristics of the communities

This section discusses the socio-economic characteristics of the four study sites according to the 5-years-estimates of the 2013 American Community Survey (ACS). The tables in Appendixes B, C and D show the variables tested using Z-Test to establish statistical differences and similarities between the sites. The variables analyzed are: a) educational attainment of the population over 25 years old, b) proportion of the population earning a certain income, c) percentage of the people living below poverty levels, and d) race.

3.1.9 Educational Attainment

The results in Appendix B suggest that the residents from Mediania Alta have the lowest education, but they are closely followed by those in Loíza Pueblo and San Isidro. The estimates point at Mediania Alta (27%) as the community with the highest proportion of people with “less than a 9th grade” followed by San Isidro (20%) and Loíza-Pueblo (17%). The order remains the same when looking at those with “9th-12th grade No High School Diploma. The data also shows that there are more individuals over the age of twenty-five with “less than a 9th grade” than those of the same age with a High School education. Further research could confirm if this number is due to an illiterate elder population or, to uneducated youths. However, based on the interactions

with Mediania Alta's residents, the low educational attainment is real even for young individuals.

The communities' rank starts changing when we consider the population with a High School diploma. In this case, Loíza-Pueblo is the community with the highest proportion of residents (48%) who obtained the HS diploma, followed by San Isidro (36%) and Mediania Alta (35.8%), although the proportions were not significantly different between them. The position of Villas de Loíza as the community with the highest level of education becomes evident when comparing the population who holds more than the High School Diploma. For example, those who have "Some College Education" or an "Associate Degree" in Villas de Loíza (31%), is significantly higher compared to those in San Isidro (22%), Loíza Pueblo (16.5%) or Mediania Alta (10%). The position of Villas de Loíza (21.1%) does not change when considering those with a "BA Degree or higher" although, in this case, Mediania Alta (9.5%) gets the second-ranking even when Villas de Loíza's proportion doubles Mediania Alta's. For their part, San Isidro and Loíza-Pueblo are not statistically different between them when considering the proportion of those with a BA or higher even though San Isidro has a large proportion of people with a BA(5%), and Loíza Pueblo of those with a "BA or more" (3.7%).

3.1.10 Economic Characteristics

Appendix C suggests that the economic indicators of the sites are related to their educational attainment, especially because San Isidro, Loíza-Pueblo, and Mediania Alta have a very similar economic situation. Figure 3.6 helps to visualize the ACS estimates and shows that approximately a third of their populations earn less than \$10,000 a year. These digits increased to over 50% if we consider the proportion of the people living “less than \$15,000 a year.” The Z-test shows that these three communities are not much different in the percentage of their populations living under the poverty line even though San Isidro (60.9%) lays as the poorest, followed by Mediania Alta (56.8%) and Loíza Pueblo (56.6%).

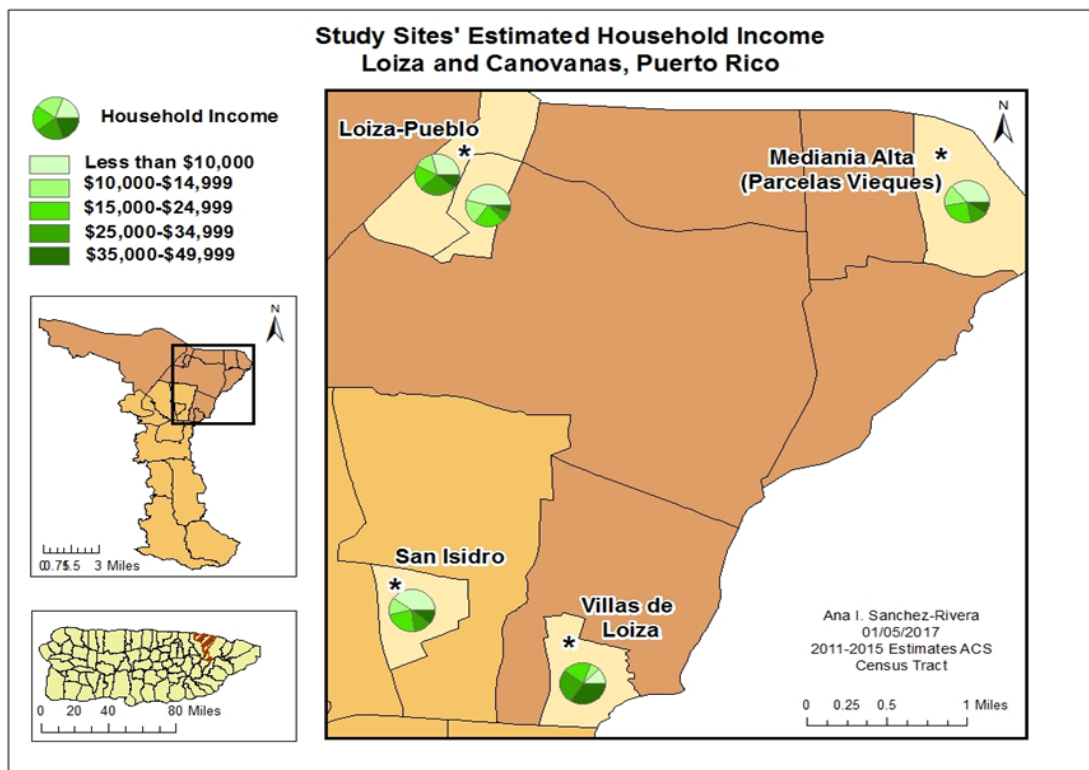


Figure 3.6 Estimated Household Income by Study

Villas de Loíza figures as an outlier both in its educational and economic characteristics, compared to the other three communities. This community has a considerably low proportion of households living over the poverty line even when it is compared to the Island's 2012 estimate (45.4%). Appendix C shows the significantly high proportion of households in this community (18%) that earn between \$50,000 and \$75,000. Based on conversations with the participants, this is due to a large number of retired couples who are economically stable, receive their pensions and have paid off their mortgages.

3.1.11 Racial Characteristics

Attachment D shows the z-tests' results for racial composition. According to the 2013 ACS estimates, Villas de Loíza (60%) and San Isidro (53%) have the highest proportion of Whites compared to Loíza Pueblo (15%) and Mediania Alta (14%). Although the percentages of people self-identified as "White" and "Black" in these first two communities is not enough to consider them as "racially diverse" places, a simple comparison with the ACS estimates suggests that San Isidro could rank #8 and Villas de Loíza #14 as the most mixed communities on the Island. For example, Calzada, Ponce, is the community classified as "place" by the US Census, with the most similar proportion of Whites (46.6%) and Blacks (45%) on the Island, followed by Candelero, Humacao with 47.7% of Whites and 37.1% self-identified as Blacks.

The four communities have a relatively high proportion of population identified as Blacks, Loíza-Pueblo (77%) and Mediania Alta (74.6%) rank among the top three places with the highest percentage of Blacks on the Island, second and third only to

Suarez, Loíza (84.3%). The results in Appendix -- show that the communities racial distribution is significantly different between them even when this distinction is not evident in Figure 3.7 where the proportion of Blacks in Loíza-Pueblo and Mediania Alta and, the percentage of Whites in Villas de Loíza and San Isidro seem relatively similar.

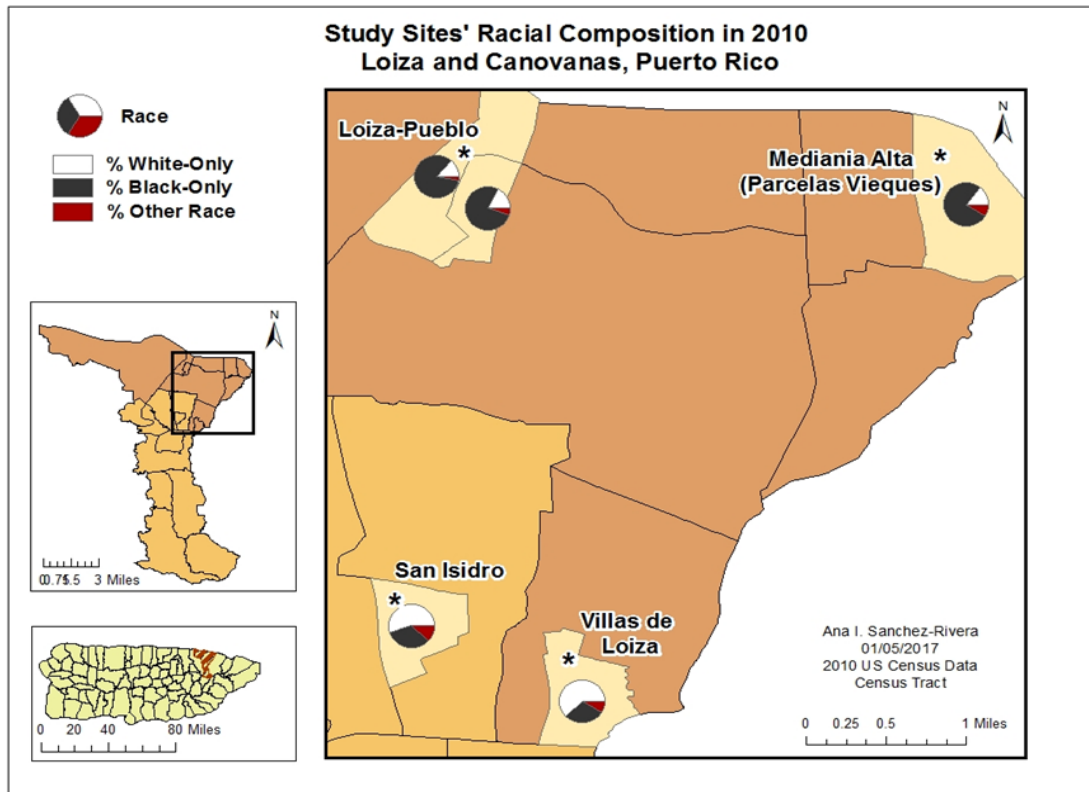


Figure 3.7 Race by Study Sites

The results support that San Isidro (11%) has the highest amount of people self-identifying as “Other Race” and it is followed by Villas de Loíza and Mediania Alta (8.4%). It is interesting to notice how Loíza-Pueblo and Mediania Alta have the same proportion of "Whites" but not "Blacks," because 5% more of those from Mediania Alta responded "Other Race" and not "Black.”

3.1.12 Main Conclusions about Study Sites

Table 3.1 shows the main conclusion driven from the z-test results discussed above. In summary, residents in Villas de Loíza have significantly higher socio-economic characteristics, including a larger proportion of the population with a college degree or higher. This characteristic could be associated with the significantly higher income and less percentage of households living under the poverty line. The community is relatively mixed although it has the highest proportion of Whites and the lowest proportion of Blacks of the four sites.

Table 3.1 Summary Z-score tests of Study Sites

Summary ACS Estimates	Villas de Loíza (Loíza)	San Isidro (Canovanas)	Loíza Pueblo (Loíza)	North Mediana Alta (Loíza)
Educ. Attainment No HS Diploma	Lower	Medium High	Medium Low	Higher
Educ. Attainment Bachelor's Degree (BA)	Higher	Medium Low	Lower	Medium
Income Median Household Income	Higher (\$33,933)	Low* (\$14,364 - No sig dif.)	Low* (\$14,635 - No sig dif.)	Low* (\$14,159 - No sig dif.)
Income Living Bellow Poverty level	Lower	Medium* (No significant difference)	Higher	Medium* (No significant difference)
Race White Only	Higher	Medium	Low (No significant difference)	Low (No significant difference)
Race Black Only	Lower	Medium Low	Higher	Medium High
Race Other Race	Medium* (No sig dif.)	Higher	Lower	Medium* (No sig dif)

It seems evident that Villas de Loíza is doing better socio-economically than the other communities.” However, it is harder to differentiate the position of the other communities with each other. The data suggest that San Isidro may hold the second place, but it is closely followed by Loíza-Pueblo when considering their educational

attainments. Part of the difficulty trying to rank the communities happens because they are not significantly different in their median household income and, San Isidro and Mediania Alta are statistically the same in the proportion of their population living under the poverty line.



Figure 3.8 Economic differences in Loíza-Pueblo are reflected on the landscape (taken by the author)

The experience of walking these communities provided some information on how socio-economically diverse they are. These three communities are mainly “improvised,” which means that one house can look very expensive and be just beside one that is very poor. Figure 3.8 shows some of this differences in which the house on the left imposes over the small and deteriorated at its right side. At the same time, these can be compared to the house on the right which has been vandalized. In Villa Cañona, almost crossing the street from where Figure 3.8 was taken, participant #223 explained to me that they had appropriate the land –with or without government’s permission– and build their houses out of diverse materials such as carton boards and random wood panels. At the same time, combined with community efforts, family savings, and

federal aid, the residents started building their houses with stronger materials such as wood and zinc sheets, and later, they transformed the structures into concrete. Today, going around these communities gives you the impression that all the houses are personalized and unique, there is not a particular pattern in shape, size, or order and you get a completely different experience from when you walk in Villas de Loiza or some other parts in Loiza-Pueblo.

Summary

The chapter is divided in three main sections. The first section discusses how the narrative about “Puerto Rico” and “Puerto Ricans” was a strategy used by the elite and the government to protect the population from US influence. In this case, the creation of a national identity was intentionally tied to the races involved during the Spanish colonization. The second part of this chapter presents the case of Loíza and Canóvanas. This section highlights the political interests behind the split, as well as the economic and racial issues that catalyzed the separation. An essential element about with this split is the government’s role (IPC and municipio’s administrations) when creating municipal identities and assigning different racial/ethnic groups to Loíza and Canóvanas. Lastly, the third section of the chapter discusses some of the socio-economic and racial differences, that existed between the four sites. This part intended to give more information about the communities where the data was collected and provide the reader with a better understanding of the overall study’s setting.

Chapter 4: Combining Mixed Methods & Multi-Site Case Studies Description of the Data Collection Process in Puerto Rico during the summer of 2016

Introduction

This section explains the research strategies adopted to answer the overall research questions about the role of places on identity creation. The study used the Mixed Method as the primary research design and combined it with a purposeful selection of case study sites and participants' criteria. This chapter describes the surveys and interviews used, as well as the steps that were taken during the collection. This chapter only discusses a comprehensive data collection design but Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the statistical tests and analyses used to answer more specific research questions.

The study approaches the findings from the Social Constructivist paradigm and adopts the ontology that reality is socially constructed and, consequently, there is more than one reality (Creswell, 2003; Hay, 2010; Mertens, 2005; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). The school of Social Constructivism also supports that the best epistemological approach is to interact personally with the population that experiences the phenomena to be studied (Mertens, 2005; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Is for this reason, that the study selected the Mixed Methods and Study Sites approaches because they give voice to the participants and helped us understand how their perspectives change by places –

and because of these places-, altogether with some other dimensions attached to the constructions of national, racial and ethnic identities in the Island.

Methods Approached and Sampling Strategies

4.1.1 Mixed Methods

This study used the Mixed Methods methodology because it combines techniques and research elements from both, the quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). The research adopted a concurrent mixed methods' design in which both kind of data were collected simultaneously. This also implies that both types of data are valued equally at the moment of analysis because they were collected with the purpose of complementing and validate each other (Creswell, 2003; Hesse-Biber; 2010).

4.1.2 Multi-Site Case Study

The study combined the Mixed Methods with the Case Study's Approach as its research strategies. Case studies are known as the exhaustive study of one or more units to understand a phenomenon at a larger scale (Hay, 2010). These kinds of studies incorporate data from multiple sources that usually vary from historical and archival to observations, surveys or interviews (Creswell, 2003; Hay, 2010; Yin, 1984). The study is aware that the case study approach is considered restrictive when pursuing the generalizations of findings. However, it also acknowledges their relevance when ensuring theoretical generalization. This research recognizes the case of Loíza and Canovanas as decisive when trying to answer the research questions about ethnic, racial

and national identities in Puerto Rico. The study also considers these sites as key areas to establish assumptions that will improve the Identity Process Theory when recognizing the importance that the construction of places created by external agents has on identity creation.

From the qualitative approach, cases become the choices of “what is going to be studied” (p.97, Creswell, 2003). For this research, Puerto Rico is considered as a case study because one of its main narratives as “a racially mixed country” was purposefully selected by the government to create the national identity. Also, the use of this construction has affected the definitions and understandings of the population’s ethnic and racial identities. This is particularly valuable when considering the IPT because the case of Puerto Rico shows how the creation of a place can be used to inform more than one identity dimension.

Likewise, Loíza and Canovanas are considered case studies based on their unique historical ties, relatively recent split (1972) and, how their local governments in association with the ICP selected narratives associated to ethnic/racial groups discussed in the Puerto Rican history. The municipios are also unique because of their particular large proportion of Puerto Ricans self-identified as "Blacks", the large proportion of racially mixed communities with similar socioeconomic status (2010 US Census) and their population's openly expressed pride for their county and racial heritage. Additionally, the use of these municipios was valuable to consider identity creation at other geographic scales, in this case, municipal identity which is equivalent to county identity in the United States.

The case study approach is also used as a comprehensive strategy to “approach what was going to be studied” (p.97, Creswell, 2003). Is for this reason that this study employed the overarching strategy of “multi-sites” because changes in the relationships between place and identity were analyzed by comparing responses between sites (Hay, 2010). The research used four communities as units of review; three of them politically belonged to Loíza - (A) Villas de Loíza, (C) Loíza-Pueblo and (D) Mediania Alta - and one to Canóvanas (B) with San Isidro as a control group. Appendix E summarizes the reason why these four study sites were selected based on fieldwork observations and the socio-economic characteristics were described in the previous chapter (Study Sites: Socioeconomic Characteristics of the communities).



Figure 4.1 Satellite image of the four study sites: (A) Villas de Loíza; Loíza, (B) San Isidro, Canóvanas; (C) Loíza-Pueblo, Loíza; (D) Mediania Alta, Loíza. Source: 2016 Google Maps

The study also weighted their locations as an important element to consider when studying identity creation at municipio level. Figure 4.1 is a satellite image of the communities shows their locations. According to Google Earth, the distance between the intersection of Road #3 and #188 in a straight line to the sand (coast) in Loíza is of approximately 4 miles. However, the distance by road (#188) from Villas de Loíza to Loíza-Pueblo is relatively far (≈ 4.9 miles), especially compared to its relative closeness to Canovanas' border, or its square (≈ 2.3 miles). The drive distance between Loíza-Pueblo and the Las Carreras's main entrance (≈ 3.8 miles), is also important to recognize because most, if not all, of the services in Loíza are located in Loíza-Pueblo.

4.1.3 Purposeful Sampling

Along with the pre-determined selection of the four barrios, the research implemented a purposeful sampling strategy. This strategy was selected over others because the range of participants had to be controlled to fulfill the minimal requirements to measure some degree of national, ethnic or racial identity (Creswell, 2012; Thasakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Again, the goal of this strategy was not necessarily to generalize the findings (Mertens, 2005) but to intensify and provide a rich understanding of the relationships that exist between the three identity dimensions and places (Mertens, 2005).

As part of the purposeful sampling, the study adopted a hybrid between the “stratified non-random” and “systematic-random” strategies. The reason of this hybrid design was to justify the accommodation of participants who were available and volunteered to participate, while the “systematic-random” controlled for over-

representation of a particular group selecting every n th person (Thasakkori and Teddlie, 1998). As the results of these two, the study chose to call at a house five houses after the last participant's residence. This system was also necessary because the barrios (study sites) are not organized in sequential order, and the location of many houses is based on family ties. The rule was slightly modified during the data collection because if the resident of the fifth house was not there or was not interested in participating, the researcher would continue with the sixth, seventh, or eight until she could find another participant.

4.1.3.1 Participants' Characteristics

Participation was based on four main criteria a) being born and raised in Puerto Rico, b) have both parents Puerto Ricans, c) have lived in the study site for at least a year, and d) being 18 years old or more. This criterion allowed the assumption that the participants understood some of the culturally sensitive topics that were going to be asked such as race as perceived in Puerto Rico. Additionally, these requirements helped ensuring participants would have some basic knowledge about Puerto Rico's and Loíza's constructions. The familiarity was appropriate for questions that required some knowledge about history and attachment to Puerto Rico, Loíza (or Canóvanas), and the community where they lived. Lastly, 18 years old is the minimum age required by the UMD Institutional Review Board (IRB) but was also a good standard to keep to make sure participants fully understood the questions that were going to be asked.

The total number of participants surveyed at each site was approximately $n=70$, which surpassed the minimum suggested for Mertens (2005) of $n=50$ for a survey. All the questionnaires and interviews were completed in Spanish. For the interview portion,

the research only considered participants who completed the questionnaires, showed some interest in the interview's topic and were available to finish it the day -or within a week- of the survey completion. A total of twenty-three interviews with n=25 participants were completed because two meetings included two participants at the same time.

Data Acquisition

All the processes described in this section was approved by the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board prior the date of collection. Appendix F shows the lasted approval to a review requesting in inclusion of a fourth community, Medianía Alta, which was submitted during the collection processes in Summer 2016.

4.1.4 Procedure

The researcher selected one house in every five houses to call at the door. If no one responded or was not interested in participating, she proceeded to the next house until she found someone. The researcher allowed a maximum of two participants per household in the residences where more than one person was interested and available to complete the survey. This was not the norm and only occurred approximately five times during the entire collection process.

The researcher called from outside the property and, if the participant answered, she would introduce herself and the purpose of the study. If the person agreed to participate, the investigator would immediately follow the instructions given by the

participant of what to do; if staying outside, sitting somewhere or entering the residence. Once organized, she gave the person a copy of the Consent form (See Appendix G) and read it out loud to him/her. After the form was signed, the participant received a stapled copy of the three questionnaires. The researcher assisted participants who were not able to read well –many elderly or/and illiterate- or, experienced tiredness or mental exhaustion while answering them.

In some cases, participants were in a rush and asked the researcher to leave the questionnaires and come back to pick them up later. This was not the norm, but it varied by communities, happening more often in Villas de Loíza. When this happened, the researcher would read him/her the consent form and leave them a copy of the surveys. The investigator would only take note of the survey's number and time given by the participant to pick it up. The addresses were never recorded, only the physical descriptions of the house such as the color, the number of stories or description of the house on its side. The rest of the information was only in the researcher's memory, with occasional reminders provided by the walking companions. Most of the participants were good at keeping their promises, although approximately five questionnaires were never recovered.

4.1.5 Walking Companions or *Los Caminantes*

Before starting the data collection, the researcher contacted one community member per study site to accompany her during the process. The idea of walking with an insider was suggested by community member during the observation stage because some of the sites had the potential to be dangerous for outsiders. This study refers to

this community member as *Caminante* or "Walking companion." The experience of walking with an insider was refreshing and very beneficial because some participants agreed to receive the investigator -open the door, not necessarily complete the survey- because they recognized the walking companion. The *caminantes* were not involved in the administration of questionnaires or interviews, but they were always with the researcher, especially when participants invited her to enter their homes.

El Caminante in Villas de Loíza was male, while the *caminantes* in the other three communities were females, for a total of four *caminantes*. Their gender did not seem to play a significant role during the data collection. All the participants agreed to allow the *caminantes* in the room, even when the researcher warned that it could violate some of the rights established in the consent forms. None of them seemed or expressed to be concerned.

The researcher provided water, snacks, lunch and, sun and bugs protection to the *Caminantes*. Also, as part of the gratitude for the effort and company, the researcher paid them thirty dollars (\$30.00) a day as an incentive because none of them were employed. The *caminantes* expressed they were content with their daily activities and said they always looked forward to the next day. Besides walking the community with the researcher, some of their tasks included: helping to call at the doors and waiting for someone to respond, assisting the investigator -e.g., holding the umbrella while she was looking for the surveys on the bookbags, and carrying a bag with water bottles and juice for the day. In October 2018, the researcher still in contact with two of them.

4.1.6 Quantitative Data

The following section describes the questionnaires in the same order they were administrated.

4.1.6.1 Socio-Demographic Sheet

The socio-demographic sheet designed for this study was composed of fourteen questions (See Appendix H). The first three questions (1-3) looked for the identification of participants' demographic characteristics such as Sex, Age, and Marital Status. The following five questions (4-8) pursued the collection of socioeconomic characteristics such as education, the total of individuals who live in the property, total household income, employment status and services received from the government if any. These variables intended to identify differences in poverty levels between the study sites, although some participants expressed feeling uncomfortable completing them and left them unanswered. Questions 9 to 11 inquired about the time-frame that the person had lived in the study sites (county vs. community) or if she/he grew up in the area. These variables were used to inform the interview's answers even though they were originally intended to complement the questionnaire about Sense of Place. Questions 12-13 were related to the participants' Hispanic origin and race. The answer to "Hispanic Origin" was controlled by the participation criteria, but the items had the intention of replicating the US Census questions for race and simulate the same cognitive processes experience when facing. Finally, the set of items for question 14 sought to understand the participants' opinion about migration, if s/he had ever considered leaving the country and why or why not.

4.1.6.2 Questionnaire “Constructions of Race in Puerto Rico”

This questionnaire was designed to understand the construction of race in Puerto Rico (See Attachment I). The first question asked the participant to rank components that are understood as “race” on the Island. The list of issues was created using a researcher’s previous focus group interviews (Sanchez-Rivera, 2013). The following set of items (2, 3 and 4) asked three of the participants’ phenotypical characteristics: skin color, and hair texture and eye color. The question about skin color initially was a five-point scale, but comments from the pilot study persuaded the researcher to increase it to a seven-point scale. This 7-point scale referred to “1” as the “Lightest Skin Color” and “7” as the darkest tone. It has a “4” -middle point- labeled as “Trigueño” or “Wheat Color” a common concept used in the Island (Allen, 2005; Godreau, 2000; Vargas-Ramos, 2005). The scale can be considered subjective because there were no visual references provided, just what the participant understood they (e.g., #2) meant.

Question 5 was an “opinion question” asking to rank what they thought the skin color of Puerto Ricans is. The choices are provided as a labeled five-point scale because it originally intended to capture the general opinion of whether the participants believed that Puerto Ricans had a lighter or darker skin color compared to their own. After changing Question 2 to a seven-point scale, the question was left unchanged to inform on how the participants understood the concept “Trigueño.” Questions 6 and 7 asked for the skin color of the participant’s parents to identify possible phenotypical differences that could indicate some degree of racial mix and how they placed their skin tones in comparison with their parents’. Question 8 asked the participant to

describe his/herself physically to someone who could not see them in person. The purpose was to explore the order of the descriptions and the colloquial wording used. Question 9 and 10 openly asked the participant to rank the cultural groups representing him/her and the Puerto Rican culture. This item sought a direct identification of the preference for a particular racial group. Not all of the questions are used in the Models presented in Chapter 5, 6 and 7 but, when relevant, some were used informed the analysis and conclusions and, are expected to be used in future publications.

4.1.6.3 Scale of Sense of Place

The last questionnaire administrated was called “Sense of Place” (See Attachment J) and was created using Nanzer’s Scale of Sense of Place (2004) with some modifications. Nanzer’s scale was considered ideal because it examined the three most important components of sense of place: place attachment, place dependence, and place identity. The statements in this questionnaire are in the same order that Nanzer’s (2004) presented them. The researcher made only two changes to the original Nanzer’s scale. First, Question 8 was changed from “ I like living close to...” to “I like living in...” and, Nanzer’s Question 10 was replaced “... provides many opportunities to engage in my favorite activities” for “I cannot imagine myself living outside of...” which also measure place dependence. The main difference from Nanzer’s scale is that this questionnaire asks each question for the three scales studied (Country, County, and Barrio). The results for this questionnaire are not discussed this study.

4.1.6.4 Variables Observed

Two researcher’s observations for "race" were included as measures to restrain the subjectivity of race in Puerto Rico (Allen, 2015; Vargas-Ramos, 2005). The

researcher walked with a notebook in her hand that she used as a fieldwork diary. On it, she took several notes, including the weather, participants' general attitudes by study sites and kept track of how the surveys were being distributed. Right after each interaction with a participant, the researcher walked a few more houses and wrote her perception of the participant's race and skin color next to the number of the survey distributed. Participants were never aware of this observation. The differences between the participants' and researcher perception are discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.

4.1.7 Qualitative Data

The researcher evaluated the participants' verbal and non-verbal behavior before inviting them to the interview. The primary signs observed were if s/he looked comfortable talking with the researcher, did not mention s/he was in a hurry, was interested in the topic and wanted to know more. Even when many participants showed these signs, the study missed their participation at its early stages because one of the original requirements was having some knowledge about Loíza's division in 1972. As the study progressed, this requirement was dropped because the researcher found some value on the answers even when participants did not know anything about the split. If the participant responded positively to request, the researcher asked for a day to meet to perform the interview. Many participants agreed to complete it at that same moment; others scheduled it that same day but a couple of hours later; only a few decided it was better on the next day. A total of twenty-five (n=25) participants were interviewed, approximately six (n=6) per study sites. At the moment of the interview, the researcher

provided them with a new consent form (See Appendix K). Participants kept their questionnaires' same number as their pseudonyms and for analyses purposes.

The research proposal included a second interview (photo-voice) which consisted of asking participants to take pictures that could answer a series of questions given by the researcher. Although the researcher asked every person interviewed, only one completed these tasks. These results are not discussed in this research.

4.1.7.1 In-depth Interview

The face-to-face interview had the purpose of comparing the participants' opinions about the division of Loíza and Canovanas, explored their views about the differences between both counties and about their sense of place for Puerto Rico, their municipio and community. The researcher conducted a semi-structured interview (See Appendix L) because the questions were used to guide the conversation and maintain a certain standardization to compare the answers by study sites. It is important to notice that the guide did not include questions related race, so it would not influence bias the participants' responses. The participants were always asked to expand on the topics they introduced if there were not part of the guide questions.

The first set of questions (1-3) asked for the general knowledge about the split of the counties and their opinions. The questions also inquired about the advantages or disadvantages the division represented for their municipios and communities. The specificity of the items allowed participants to express the overall satisfaction with the government to explore the possible role of it in the creation of the perceived places (county and community).

The second set of questions tried to identify the differences between both counties and in a broader way and some potential tensions that could exist between the populations. The first question of the second set (5) explored the participants' opinion about the differences between the municipios while the second question (6) attempted to make participants imagine how the situation of their community would have been if it belonged to the other municipio. Question 7 asked the participant to describe the other municipio and to explain the reasons why he/she selected those descriptions. The last set of questions (8-10) pursued a better understanding of the Sense of Place at the three geographic scales. Chapter 7 expands on Question 5 presenting its results, which is the only part of the interview discussed in this study.

Data Analysis

The methods of analysis are different in each chapter. Please refer to Chapter 5, 6 and 7 to find the specific method used and the explanations of how the variables were manipulated and tested.

Ensuring Validity and Ethics

4.1.8 Constructive Approach

The researcher approached the findings from the Social Constructivist School. This paradigm supports that 'reality' is constructed in more than one way and, to understand its basics, it is necessary to reach the population who experience it. The Constructivist School also supports that, because "reality" is constructed, the values of

the investigator are continuously present in the research and that his/her position on the matter, cannot be separated from the interpretation (Mertens, 2005). This means that the researcher cannot claim complete objectivity, and for that reason, it is important to declare his/her position in advance.

4.1.9 Declaring Researcher's Position

Ana I. Sanchez is a Puerto Rican that was born and raised on the Island. She became interested in the study of race in Puerto Rico at the beginning of her fourth year of undergraduate in 2009. At that moment her research interests were more directed to the stereotypes against Dominican immigrants, because of her first cultural shock during a summer internship at the University of Minnesota. Because of her research background in social and cognitive psychology and social work, she focused her undergraduate thesis on xenophobic attitudes against immigrants on the Island and the strong association that Puerto Ricans have between Blacks and Dominicans –the larger immigrant group in the Island-. After being accepted into a Master's program in Geography, she embraced her passion for the field and focused on the how stereotypes against immigrants changed by places in the San Juan metropolitan area. An unexpected turn in her findings suggested that the changes in perception could be somehow related to how the municipios' influenced identity. This is the main reason to pursue this research topic of racial identification and place at different geographic scales.

The researcher considers that she has gathered a good amount of knowledge about the understanding of race in Puerto Rico based on three main reasons: a) her personal experience as Puerto Rican, b) the extended number of readings from experts on the topic of race in the Island, c) aspects that she has



Figure 4.2 Bow and Arrow made by the “the Princess of the Bow”

learned from her previous research. Although she possesses a sound knowledge about race in the Island, the study sites were new to her because she is originally from a municipio at the west of the Metropolitan Area, and the study sites are located at the East of it. Her interests in Loíza and Canóvanas started from a conversation that emerged during her Master’s fieldwork. In one of the focus groups, participants began talking about the unfair treatment towards Loíza and how the municipio was better when “they” – referring Loíza and Canóvanas- were together. At that moment, the researcher did not know about the division of counties and the resentments that residents of Loíza held against Canóvanas and the Puerto Rican government. The interest in the construction of place and racial identification started when she entered the Canóvanas City Hall and saw daughter of one of the secretaries playing with a bow and arrow she created (See Figure 4.2). When the researcher asked the girl “what was that?,” she replied “I am the princess of the bow!” her older sister supported her statement, and she added that her younger sister was a Taina princess. The part that impacted the researcher the most was that the girl’s phenotypical characteristics could’ve been considered by many as Africans, not necessarily Native Indians.

4.1.10 Dependability, Credibility and Confirmability

The investigator employed multiple methods to ensure ethical research practices and control possible biases at the moment of analysis. However, three of these methods were to maintain dependability, credibility, and confirmability. *Dependability* refers to the ability of the results to be the same over the time (Mertens, 2005). Proof of dependability in case studies is sometimes difficult because, as the Constructivist Paradigm supports, changes in the manifestation of the phenomena are expected to occur and, they open possibilities for the results to be interpreted in multiple ways. Maintaining dependability is also challenging because of constant re-constructions that phenomena suffer change with the context and over time (Jensen, 2008). To demonstrate the dependability this study provides the reader with a precise description of the methodology, methods and the way the data was analyzed and coded (See "Data Aquisition" in this chapter and Methods' sections in Chapter, 5, 6 and 7). Additionally, this research describes the study cases context at the moment of data collection (Summer of 2016: Observations and Context of the Collection Process) and continually linked the findings to the participant's expressions to ensure that they reflected what the participant intended to say (Jensen, 2008).

Credibility stands for the establishment that the findings presented are the product of an extensive and transparent process of analysis, and not the author's imagination (Mertens, 2005). The establishment of credibility includes a level of consistency in the research process that allows the reader to understand the links between what the participants revealed and the topics highlighted (Jensen, 2008).

Similar to the previous concepts, *confirmability* refers to the degree of how the study can ensure that the results reflect the participant's perspective on the phenomena. Confirmability seeks to authenticate that the interpretations are based on how participants construct the phenomenon and, that the conclusions can be verified by a series of evidence (Jensen, 2008; Mertens, 2005).

Part of ensuring credibility and confirmability has been implicitly addressed in the previous pages of this methodology but will be more explicitly addressed in the following chapters. The study hopes it provides enough description of the participant's criteria and the connections between the quantitative and qualitative strategies as a method of validation. To maintain conformability, the study ensures that the data were analyzed from different perspectives to provide a complete understanding of the phenomena and offered a clear description of the coding process and the definitions of each theme. The study also sought for the triangulation of multiple sources, not only from the data that collected but from previous findings on the respective topics and gave the final product to colleagues who specialized in the area of racial identification in Puerto Rico to review and criticize her analyses (Jensen, 2008).

Summer of 2016: Observations and Context of the Collection Process

This session was written before the data analysis and had the intention of providing the reader with some background while showing part of the study's dependability measures. This narrative explains some of the context-related aspects that may have influenced how participants answered the questionnaires or interviews.

These notes were taken as part of the researcher's fieldwork diary, and it is written in first-person.

4.1.11 Challenges Faced during the Data Collection

4.1.11.1 Weather

The summer of 2016 was very hot and humid, although it was not much different from other summers in the Island. During the month and a half of data collection, it only rained three days in Loíza and Canovanas, which benefited me because I did not have to miss days due to rain. Although conditions were meteorologically similar to other summers, this year was notably different because of the Zika appearance. Every day as part of the routine both the *caminante* and I had to spray all our clothes, legs and arms, put our backpacks on, opened the umbrellas and started walking to the last street we visited the day before.

It is hard to determine how these variables affected the data collection, but I know they contributed to the loss of potential participants that were in their houses but did not hear my calls because of having the air conditioning units on. If we consider the price of an air conditioning central unit, and the high electric bills are associated to their use, as indicative of higher socio-economic status, then, it is reasonable to think that the combination of heat and mosquitos may have contributed to an overrepresentation of participants with low socio-economic status. Another possible reason of why the sample may have underrepresented the working class is the days and time of collection, which they were weekdays when people are not always in their homes.

4.1.11.2 Political Climate

Similar to the United States, 2016 was an election year. In Puerto Rico, the general climate was filled with a mixture between hopes and disappointment. I say this because, for the first time, two independent candidates were running for governor and were very popular among the youth. However, the primaries for the main parties -New Progressive Party (PNP) and Popular Democratic Party (PPD) - were a hot topic everywhere and that showed some loyalty that was still among the older population. Talking with participants, I learned that the recession was making people consider the statehood as an alternative to solve the Island economic problems. We actually missed data collection on June 5th because of the primary elections mainly because I was trying to avoid the parties' celebrations.

In general, participants from both municipios were cheering for the PNP candidates and statehood. They expressed having hopes that Puerto Rico will have a PNP governor that will improve the overall austerity and cut taxes. They also approved the appointment of the Junta (PROMESA Federal Fiscal Control Board) and ensured that the fiscal board would fix the corruption in Puerto Rico. At the municipio level, participants were likely to bring up the topic because Loíza's winner was the current mayor that has been in power since 2005. In this aspect, it was interesting to compare the municipios' primary results with the participants' perspective because they did not seem to align. This was because, even when most participants cheered for the PNP, they did not seem to like the way the current mayor was working. Some participants confessed they were thinking in voting PPD just to see if there was some change.

4.1.11.3 Socio-Economic Atmosphere

Everything is so expensive! I felt "broke" when I invited the *caminante* to eat at a fast food because I did not have time to prepare us lunch. I don't know if it's because I got used to the prices on the US groceries, but I spend almost \$100 weekly on lunch ingredients, water, juice, and snacks. Participants seem to be affected too when talking about their desire of migrating, but they were generous to us and were likely to give us drinks (non-alcoholic) when they invited us into their houses.

It was particularly hard to talk to elderly participants because some of their houses were very deteriorated and I felt the responsibility for helping some of them. One of the participants in Villas de Loíza said her food stamps were only \$60 a month and her Social Security was not enough to cover up her medicines. She said one neighbor prepared her a meal daily but that that person was planning on moving to the US. She wondered what would happen to her if that neighbor leaves. She participated in the interview and cried when I gave her the \$10. I brought her a small grocery the next day, and she prayed for me even when she cursed a lot the previous day talking about her medical condition.

Another participant in Villas de Loíza sold *limbers*, which is technically frozen juice in a plastic cup. One hot afternoon, the *caminante* and I saw a sign hanging in the door made us crave one. We called at the door talking about the survey and an elderly man graciously opened. I asked him if he was interested in the study and responded to the surveys. At the end I asked him how much the *limbers* were and he said twenty-five cents. I asked for two, one for me and one for the *caminante* and gave him two dollars. He was stunned and thankful because I refused the change back. Another

participant in San Isidro invited us into her home. It was the first time in twenty-eight years –my age at the moment- to see this kind of an unfortunate scenario in Puerto Rico, especially in a community where their neighbors seemed having a good socio-economic position. The house was dark, the walls were dirty, the couches were broken and there was a strong smell like something was old and rotten at the same time. She offered us coffee but said she had no sugar or bread to give to us. We left the house and came back with a bag of sugar, bread and a donut just for her.

These were beautiful experiences, and I feel blessed I was able to help, but, at the same time I feel it still difficult to think of them and know my help was limited to whenever they finished their grocery, spent the two dollars or eat their bread roll. I do not know how feasible or ethical would be to visit them whenever I go back to the Island, but I feel I should stop by. I hope more people are put in their way that could help them. I do not think the image of their faces full of gratitude will ever leave my mind.

4.1.11.4 Reactions to the Questionnaires

Everyone seemed welcoming and cooperative with us –*Caminantes* and me- and we faced relatively few rejections to participate, fortunately, anyone too memorable for me to write about. Actually, I do have a couple but they are not really relevant now. In general, I noticed that the participants enjoyed the topics they were asked, both, the questionnaires and interviews. No participant expressed verbal or non-verbal discomfort, which is something I was trained on at a summer internship. On the contrary, they seemed flattered for having someone who asked for their opinion. Actually, there were a few questions in the socio-economic sheet that made more than

one uncomfortable: the annual income and federal aid questions. Some asked me why I wanted to know it and even after my explanation, some preferred not to answer. Most of those who answer gave the obvious answers such as “food stamps” or *la reforma* which is Puerto Rico Public Medical Insurance- but hush some others. At the beginning, I felt sad for those who were suspicious of the study, but I learned not to take it personally. I got sad again after seeing that much missing data, especially because I considered them critical socio-economic variables.

I rapidly learned to define a good day of data collection as one in which ten participants completed the surveys. Although ten to twelve participants in more than seven hours do not seem as much, they were. The walks were long, and the heat forced us to take many water breaks. Honestly, I regretted more than once having the protocol of surveying one-in-every-five houses because it required us to walk the entire barrios, but now I can say I am proud that I kept it. I think one of the biggest takeaways was that I underestimated the amount of time the surveys were going to take. I thought I would spent a maximum of twenty minutes, but all the chatting before and after the questionnaires averaged the interactions to thirty-five minutes with each.

4.1.11.5 Researcher’s Physical Appearance

The data collection extended from May 30th to July 14th, 2016. A typical day lasted approximately seven hours, usually from 9:30 am to 5 pm. Because of the high temperatures, long-day walks, and mosquito bite warnings, I had to wear jeans or capris, long or mid-arm sleeves shirts, arm protection, a cap, sneakers, and an umbrella. My cloth was informal, and it mostly responded to the need of protecting myself from the sun because I live with the irony of being a Puerto Rican who suffers from mild-to-

severe heat hives. In the beginning, I felt ugly and careless, but quickly I realized I had to dress like that because I had to purposely differentiate myself from groups who evangelize the study sites. I actually think that the method of walking around the community and calling in front of the houses affected the data collection because participants mentioned they did not want to open thinking I belong to one of those groups or I was selling something. I expand this on the section "Differences Observed by Communities" (See p.90)

I must admit that I was surprised by the fact that several participants asked me "Where I was from." Their question seemed honest and asked out of curiosity, they often used it as a conversation starter. I always responded *¡de aquí!* -From here!- referring to Puerto Rico, which is one of the most "Puerto Rican answers" someone can get. They usually opened their mouths and nod with their face. I notice I was never able to hold myself from asking why they were asking me that. According to them, they wanted to know it because of my "proper pronunciation" (accent) and "face" because I "looked somewhat different" –whatever that means-.

This is not the first time someone tells me that my Puerto Rican's accent is neutral compared to the average Puerto Rican. My constant communication with other Latin American groups in the United States has forced me to train myself to find common words but I never realized I talked in a similar way when I was back in the Island. I do not think that the possibility of me been from another country affected the data collection because I did not notice any indisposition. However, it made me think about how many other participants may have believed the same or, what would have happened if I had been, in fact, from another country. As part of my personal reflection,

this surprised me because my national or ethnic identity was never questioned by Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico. I noticed my luck definitely changed when I was interviewed and asked for my nationality by security on my way to board the airplane in San Juan.

4.1.12 Differences Observed by Community

4.1.12.1 Villas de Loíza

Villas de Loíza's residents seem like very busy people, especially compared to those living in the other study sites. The residential area is big, but the constant flow of cars entering and leaving the main entrance gives you the impression the community is huge. The mornings were slow for data collection. It was always disappointing when we passed a house that was alone, and a few minutes later the resident arrived. Sadly for me, at that moment it was too late to go back. The afternoons were not long enough because the number of potential participants increased but their availability was limited by their domestic work.

The impression I got is that residents in this community went from one extreme to the other. On the one hand, many residents responded to my call and were interested in participating but did not have the time to complete the questionnaire because they had to leave. In a few cases, participants asked me to give the questionnaires to them and pick them up later. I always regretted leaving the surveys because I had to come back two or three times until they were completely filled. It was exhausting and embarrassing showing up again and again, but it was an effective way to collect data here. On the other extreme, those who had the time to complete the questionnaires,

invited me into their living rooms, to their porches, or garages. Most of these residents were retired, looked comfortable and willing to talk because they did not have much to do. Many offered us water bottles or something to drink in cans, which notably differ by community. These conversations were good for us to recover from the heat and tiredness but they consumed way too much of my time.

The houses in this barrio were well structured, this kind of residential area in Puerto Rico are called “urbanizaciones.” All the suburbs are *urbanizaciones* but not all the *urbanizaciones* are suburbs. *Urbanizaciones* are mainly middle class residential areas. Villas de Loiza, seem to be middle to middle-low class and all the houses had approximately the same lot size which is smaller than the ones I’m used seeing. You can notice that the houses had some standard façades initially, but with the time, the owners personalized the homes and built up or changed their fronts.

4.1.12.2 San Isidro

Collecting data in this community was hard because the residents were not too willing to open their doors. It took me a few days into the collection process to realize that part of the reason why they did not want to answer my calls was my umbrella. Why? Because they thought I was a Jehovah Witness. This made me walked the entire barrio (which is the largest barrio in Puerto Rico) without an umbrella. By the third day, my hives were so bad I had to walk with it opened and closed it just before calling in front of the houses.

The residents in this community were also busy and had to, again, leave some questionnaires and pick them up a few hours later. Another big difference was that participants here were not as likely to invite us into their homes, as those in Villas de

Loíza. I also missed the water bottles, and those who offered something to drink (water or juice) offered them in cups. The community did not have many elderly residents, but compared to those in Villas de Loíza, some of those who answered were living in a precarious situation.

San Isidro is composed of many urbanizaciones and communities, from which some are former “invasions” which are lots taken initially without the government’s authorization. These communities do not have clear boundaries between them but the residents seemed to be very aware about the limits. The houses’ structures were different between them, and it was not likely to find a pattern because many lots were bought empty and, then developed by their owners according to their budgets and personal tastes. These differences make it difficult to identify socio-economic disparities between and within communities, primarily because some houses with big and beautiful structures could have been found on the side of a very small or impoverished one.

4.1.12.3 Loíza-Pueblo

I must admit that at some moment during the collection process, I felt unsure of coming here. This feeling was introduced by participants from the other study sites when they talking about how dangerous it would be surveying in Loíza. But, this is different from what everyone said. I actually love the way in how this site has received me. Residents have been warm, and most people respond to my calls even if they later declined to participate. The communities in Loíza-Pueblo are very different between them, and I think the sample may have underrepresented the working class in some of them. On another note, I think I got the most diverse sample with regards to the age.

Some of the communities here allowed me to survey younger participants compared to the previous two.

I had one of the best days of the entire collection. Sundays are tough in these communities because most of their residents attend to church. However, the first Sunday here, I decided to try it and around 3pm we arrived at the Plaza. To my surprise, it was full of people! We got close to a group of approximately seven males that sat at the gazebo/pavilion, and after a little talk trying to convince them, everyone agreed to participate. They were so much fun and knowledgeable! They were a great find even though, I suspect that two of them had a couple of drinks before I got to talk to them.

I am still surprised by seeing people outside in the streets talking to their neighbors. They quickly started recognizing and greeting me every time I was passing by, even when driving my car. In the beginning, I felt like a minor celebrity, but now it feels more like people I know. They did not only give me water in cups but offered me fruits and cupcakes. One person said she wanted to bake me a cake and other person invited me over for dinner but both apologized every time I passed by because they could not find someone to take them to the grocery store. I promised myself to take them to the grocery store at the end of the week, but I was not able to do it because of my tiredness and the long drive back home.

The study site was composed of two *urbanizaciones* and two *invasiones* close to the plaza which mean that their populations were socioeconomically diverse. The *urbanizaciones* followed the description of the previous ones, but one of them had large lots and bigger houses than in Villas de Loiza and San Isidro, while the other had diverse structures. I consider that these two *invasiones* were interesting because their

names “Villa Cañona” (which can be translated to something like “Forced/Imposition Village”) make reference to the fight residents had against the government to own the land. The two communities felt crowded, the houses’ shapes and location were odd, and in some areas, there was barely space to fit a car.

4.1.12.4 Medianía Alta

Mediania Alta is big, and it is composed of several communities. Resident’s attitudes changed by communities, and I had to stop collecting data in Miñi Miñi because residents were not in their houses and those who were, were not interested in opening their doors. I limited the data collection to *Las Carreras* (The Racings), *Vieques*, *Parcelas Vieques* and *Villa Cristiana* (Christian Village). The *caminante* and I walked almost every, if not every, street in those communities. I cannot say I know all Loíza by walking Loíza-Pueblo and Mediania Alta and, maybe I was just lucky selecting the communities, but I felt safe at all times. People here are not as welcoming as those in Loíza-Pueblo, but still more available than those in Villas de Loíza.

I stopped by the indoor court (public basketball court) in Las Carreras and seemed like it had an excellent program for young people. The initiative was supported by the local (Loíza and Puerto Rican) government to provide some additional education and a place for children to hang around. I saw *vejigante* masks in one of the offices, and the person told me they were made by the children. I could not survey the staff because some were busy but also because not everyone lived in Loíza. The court was filled with young people walking around (at 3:30 pm), but maybe they were part of a summer program.

My walking companion was quite popular in two of these communities, and everyone completed the questionnaires when she called because they recognized her voice. Even though we have only entered into three or four houses, with the exception of some who invited us into their porches, most surveys were completed over in the gates. Participants gave us lots of fruits, including quenepas (Spanish-lime), pomarrosas (rose apple), limes and even a panapén (Breadfruit)! My walking companion was also given with some kind of three branches so she could grow the plant at her home.

It is a long drive from Loíza-Pueblo to here, and this makes me feels like these communities are very far away from the Metropolitan Area. I walked Mediania Alta for over two weeks, and I never saw an AMA bus (Metropolitan Autobuses Authority) passing by. Participants continuously mentioned the need for a grocery store here in Loíza. I don't know how those without cars make it here. It is not like they do not have cars, because cars are everywhere in Puerto Rico, but I have noticed some residencies that do not have one.

Houses in Las Carreras look poorer, but they were closely followed by Villa Cristiana, at least by looking at them from the outside. It seemed clear the streets of these residencies were not planned, because they were not necessarily straight. I have the impression they were initially an invasion. One of the residences was a three-story house –I saw one in Villa Cañona 1-. It seemed pretty intimidating, but I bet it has the most beautiful view in all the coast. I had the opportunity to survey one of its owners, who was walking on the street when I met her. She invited me into the residence because she told me she was not a good reader. Once inside the house (on the first

floor) I learned she had six children, which was shocking because she was three years younger than I.

Vieques seemed more diverse, but the residencies in Parcelas Vieques were much better off compared to the other three. Somewhere between Villa Cristiana and Vieques, I found a group of five young males socializing outside of a corner store. It seemed to be a regular meeting spot for them because they waved at us every time we passed around. These males were under the age of 35 but did not know how to read, and I had to read the questionnaires to them one by one. That took me a long time, but it was worth it, primarily to increase the male representation in the sample for that area. When I asked them about their race, two of them insisted they were Native Indians and, about their skin color, most of them answered they were “trigueños” or “trigueño claro.” This was interesting for me because I was aware they could be considered “Black” in the US. At the end of the day, driving back, my walking companion brought the topic to our conversation and commented how it was possible that they have answered that.

Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology used for the data collection and how the strategy of combining Mixed-Methods and Multi-Site Case Studies was necessary to the answer the main research questions. The chapter explained the logistics of the data acquisition process and how the items in the questionnaires would contribute to the overall understanding of the phenomenon of race on the Island. The chapter also discussed the ethical measures taken to ensure the findings presented are trustworthy

and were analyzed responsibly. Finally, the last section is composed of the researcher's notes and had the purpose of providing the reader with some context about Puerto Rico and the study sites during the Summer of 2016. This last part was written before the data analysis also covers some of the factors that may have impacted or contributed to the sample -participants and their answers- obtained.

Chapter 5: Comparing imposed and local understandings of Race in Puerto Rico: An approach to the IPT from a Geographical Perspective

Introduction

Race is a social construction that varies by places. In Puerto Rico, the use of the US Census question for race is producing misleading findings because the population does not define the concept in the same way it is understood in the US. This chapter recognizes the over-representation of Whites produced by the US Census question of race is a problem because it is perpetuating racial disparities that cannot be easily identified in the Island. The chapter asks explicitly about what is leading the people to select a particular race. Are there any particular socio-economic characteristic informing their selection? Is it a factor related to the person's phenotypical characteristics? Can location or the place where they live significantly affecting the decision of selecting "White" or "Black" over the other racial categories? Moreover, could this selection be influenced by the way on how the Puerto Rican government has constructed the Island?

The questionnaires discussed here gathered socio-demographic information as well as general aspects about the understanding of race and skin color, participant's phenotypical characteristics and information about where they have lived. The first part of the results discusses variables that influenced how participants select "White" or

“Black” in the official questionnaires. A binary logistic regression was conducted to predict how participants selected their race in the study using the nine described predictors. The Models discussed included variables that can be found in the US Census, with exception of reported and observed race and skin tones. The second part of the results confronts the experience of choosing an imposed definition of the concept and compares the answers when participants are given more culturally-sensitive definitions of it.

In relation to the theory, the chapter explores the importance of narrative created about a country and its culture have the potential to directly impact identification. In this case, the narrative of “Puerto Rico as a racially mix country” when participants feel that their racial identity is under a threat. The chapter considers threat the selection of a racial category in the US Census based on the reaction that participants experience when reading the question. The chapter argues that the confusion is based on the incongruity between their personal meaning of race and the categories provided by the US Census. The study supports that the process of revisiting and comparing the definitions is part of the coping strategies taken to achieve centrality after the threat. Lastly, the research argues that the selection of the racial category and skin tone can be considered the assimilation necessary to create a new racial category that can meet both definitions, the given by the US Census and theirs.

Methods

5.1.1 Variables and Coding

The first part of the results discussed in this chapter, consider two models “White” (Model 1) and “Black” (Model 2) that represent the racial category selected by the participants. These variables were coded as binary, where “0” meant that the person identified with any of the other racial categories provided (i.e., White/Black, Native Indian, Other-Race) while “1” was used for the dependent variable (i.e. White in Model 1, Black in Model 2). The models only included binary items of “Sex,” and “Single” and “Married” as demographic variables. In the variable “Sex,” Males were coded as “0” while Females were classified as “1”. For the marital status, the selection of “Single” and “Married” were individually coded as “1”, while the selection of any of the other categories was transformed into “0”. The socioeconomic variables of “Educational Attainment” and “2015 Household Income” were considered ordinal categories. Both questions were asked in the same way the 2010 US Census asked them and included the same answer options. Lowest income or educational attainment received the lowest code (e.g., “1” = Less than \$10,000) while highest income or education was assigned with the higher number (e.g., “8” = more than \$200,000).

The variable of “Skin Color” was taken from the second questionnaire. This 7-point scale referred to “1” as the “Lightest Skin Color you could think of” and “7” as the darkest one. The scale used “4” as the middle point that was labeled “Trigueño” or “Wheat Color”, a common concept used in the Island (Allen, 2005; Godreau, 2000; Vargas-Ramos, 2005; Rogler, 1944). The scale can be considered subjective since there

were not “skin tones provided” as visual references, just what the participant understood they meant (e.g., #2).

Two of the researcher’s observations were included as measures to restrain subjectivity (Allen, 2015; Vargas-Ramos, 2005). The first was her perspective about the participant’s race labeled as "observed race," and, second, the difference between hers and the participants’ perception of their skin color. This last variable was calculated subtracting the researcher’s and participants' reported skin color, which means that it contained negative and positive values depending on how lighter or darker the researcher found the participant. For example, if the researcher found the participant lighter, the resulted digit is likely to be positive, while if she considered the participant darker, the result could be a negative number. This research is aware that the variables “observed race” and “observed skin color” cannot influence the decision of the participant for selecting a racial category. However, these variables were included to provide a perspective informed from the US understanding of race. The interpretation suggested for these “observed” variables is how these participants who select “White” or “Black” would be perceived in the US Mainland.

The variables for "places" -i.e., “Municipio where the participant grew up” and “Community where the participant currently lives”- were considered as categorical variables, and were automatically calculated by SPSS as binary data. The "Metro Area" was defined using the Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados -Water and Sewer Authority- (2017) region, which includes Loíza as part of the “San Juan Metropolitan Area”. Notwithstanding, the researcher coded Loíza as another variable because 45% of the participants grew up in the municipio and she considered necessary to

differentiate them from the additional 47% who grew up in Canóvanas, Carolina or San Juan, municipios that also fell under the “Metro” definition. “Grew up in No-Metro” was created with the 8% who grew up in any other municipio outside the already defined as “Loíza” or “Metro” region. Finally, “Community where participants currently live” refers to the study sites, since one of the participation criteria was to live in the community during the summer of 2016 when the data was collected. “Loíza” (Grew up) and “Medianía Alta” (Currently live) were considered the reference categories.

5.1.2 Culturally accepted Definitions of Race in Puerto Rico

This second section explored how the participants constructed the concept of race when they were provided with a broader range of definitions than in the Census categories (Allen, 2015). The question asked the participant to rank components that are understood as “race” on the Island. The list of definitions was based on Sánchez-Rivera’s (2013) work with over ten focus groups in four municipios of the San Juan Metropolitan Area. The list of definitions included: Country of Birth (e.g. Puerto Rico), Parent’s Race, Skin Color, Other Physical Characteristics (e.g. mouth, nose’ shape, hair texture) Cultures (e.g. Latinos, Asians, Middle East, Native Indians) and Other). Participants ranked the items from “1” to “6”, where “1” meant the first definition that came to their mind when they heard “race” and “6” the last from the list. The results discussed in this session are solely descriptive.

Results

5.1.3 Sample

This research contains data from two-out-of-three questionnaires designed and collected by the author. A total of 293 participants (69% women) completed the surveys on three communities in Loíza -Villas de Loíza (31%), Loíza-Pueblo (21%), Medianía Alta (22%)- and one in Canóvanas, San Isidro (26%).

The general sample can be considered poor because approximately 40% of the participants reported earning “\$10,000 or less”, 23.5% between “\$10,000 and \$15,000”, and 16.5% stated some amount between “\$15,000 and \$25,000”. The data shows some differences by study sites, such as Villas de Loíza having a higher income compared to those living in the other communities. Participants from Villas de Loíza (24%) were half as likely to earn “less than \$10,000” compared to those living in San Isidro (49.5%), Loíza Pueblo (43%), or Medianía Alta (50%). Also, the proportion of participants earning between “\$35,000 and \$50,000” was significantly higher in this community. This higher household income may be related to the higher proportion of married and retired participants living there.

The general sample also showed low educational attainment because approximately 20% had “less than a High School Diploma” and 35% “only completed high school,” although San Isidro had the largest proportion (67%) of participants with an HS Diploma or less. Surprisingly, Villas de Loíza and Loíza-Pueblo had a very similar and balanced distribution among the categories. This raises questions about

Loíza-Pueblo's low income even when over 50% of its participants had an “Associate Degree” or higher college degree.

According to the participant’s racial classification, 55% of the general sample reported being “Black,” compared to 27% who selected “White,” 3% “Native Indian” and 5% “Other Race.” There were some differences by communities because approximately 50% of the participants living in Villas Loíza and 37% from San Isidro reported being “White”, compared to only 3% from Loíza-Pueblo and 6% from Medianía Alta. For its part, the proportion of participants who identified as “Blacks” was higher in Medianía-Alta (77%) and Loíza-Pueblo (71%), compared to San Isidro (43%) and Villas de Loíza (37%). Lastly, the proportion of “Other Race” varied from 12%-13% in Villas de Loíza, San Isidro and Medianía Alta but appeared higher in Loíza-Pueblo (22%).

Lastly, there were some interesting differences between this self-reported race and the one observed by the researcher. For example, the researcher classified 14.5% of those who selected “White” as Whites, while considered 80% as “Other Race” and 5% Blacks. On the other hand, there was a strong agreement between the “reported” and “observed” race for those who selected “Black” (82%), even though approximately 18% of those who selected “Black,” were considered as “Other Race.” The researcher did not believe that any participants could be seemed as “Native Indian,” but instead considered 71% of those as “Black” and 29% as “Other Race.” Finally, the researcher believed that 4.6% of those who classified themselves as “Other Race” could be considered “White” in the United States, 58% “Black” and 37% as “Other Race.”

Table 5.1 show the differences in the responses to "race" differed from the “observed” by the researcher and how these varied by communities. The table shows that approximately 50% of the participants living in Villas Loíza and 37% from San Isidro reported being “White” although less than 8% of them could be considered as it under the US perspective according to the researcher. Even when the researcher-participant difference for “Blacks” was not too significant in the general sample, the results showed an over-representation of participants classifying themselves as Blacks in Villas de Loíza and San Isidro, while the contrary in Loíza-Pueblo and Medianía Alta, where participants observed as "Black" preferred other racial categories. Lastly, the “Other Race” category showed the most researcher-participant variance in Villas de Loíza, San Isidro, and Loíza-Pueblo while participants for Medianía Alta who selected “Other Race” seemed to have a researcher’s similar definition of the category.

Table 5.1 Sample’s Reported Race vs. Observed Race by Study Sites

	Villas de Loíza				San Isidro				Loíza-Pueblo				Medianía Alta			
	Rep		Obs		Rep		Obs		Rep		Obs		Rep		Obs	
<i>White</i>	45	50%	5	5%	27	37%	6	8%	2	3%	1	2%	4	6%	1	2%
<i>Black</i>	33	37%	24	27%	32	44%	29	40%	46	74%	57	90%	50	77%	55	86%
<i>Native Indian</i>	1	1%	0	0%	4	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	5%	0	0%
<i>Other Race</i>	11	12%	61	68%	10	14%	37	52%	14	23%	5	8%	8	12%	8	12%
<i>Total</i>	90	100	90	100	73	100	72	100	62	100	63	100	65	100	64	100

5.1.4 Modeling the Selection of a Racial Category: Being “White” or “Black”

The test of the full model against the constant-only model was statistically significant, indicating that the predictors set reliably when distinguishing between the

selection of “White” (chi-square = 182.151, $p < .000$ with $df = 14$) or “Black” (chi-square = 133.389, $p < .000$ with $df = 14$) and any other racial category provided (See Table 5.2). The results of the regressions indicated that the predictors explained about 74% of the variance in Model 1 ($R^2=.736$) and 54% in Model 2 ($R^2=.543$) and indicated moderately strong relationships between prediction and grouping (90.7% Model 1; 79.0% Model 2).

5.1.4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Some of the socio-demographic characteristics seem to play a role when selecting “Black” as a category. However, different from the situation in the US mainland, the Models nor correlation tests show significance between the participant’s “race” and “Education” ($T_c = (N = 288) = p<.444, = .036$) or “Income” ($T_c = (N = 269) = p<.538, = .030$). Possible reasons of these results may be due to the general sample's: 1) overrepresentation of participants who identified as “Blacks” (55.5%), b) high (63.3%) proportion households earning less than \$15,000 a year and c) low educational attainment (55.1% had a High School diploma or less). It’s important to mention that there were weak but statistically significant correlations between these variables and the study sites, even though they were not reflected in these general sample’s models.

The results suggest that selecting “White” as a racial category is not necessary determined by any of the socio-demographic variables included. However, participant’s Sex and Marital Status seem to influence the participants’ selection of “Black”. Model 2 suggests that being a woman increases the probabilities of selecting “Black” as their race (Exp B=2.41), as well as being single (Exp B= 3.43) or married (Exp B= 4.15). The results are somewhat surprising because there are no significant

correlations between race and gender ($V = (N = 289) = p < .098, = .148$) and just a very weak correlation between race and marital status ($V = (N = 289) = p < .042, = .142$).

Table 5.2 Output Table - Comparing Models and the selection of “White” or “Black” as Race

	Model 1: White					Model 2: Black			
	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp B		B	Wald	Sig.	Exp B
Socio-Demographics									
<i>Sex</i>	-.177	.108	.743	.838		.878	5.352	.021**	2.406
<i>Marital Status – Single</i>	-.689	.927	.336	.502		1.207	6.040	.014**	3.343
<i>Marital Status – Married</i>	-.199	.086	.770	.819		1.425	8.168	.004***	4.157
<i>Education</i>	-.111	.148	.701	.895		-.200	1.081	.299	.819
<i>Household Income</i>	-.207	1.321	.250	.813		-.041	.098	.755	.960
Race and Skin Color									
<i>Observed as White</i>		2.434	.296				.649	.723	
<i>Observed as Black</i>	-.082	.007	.933	.921		-19.117	.000	.999	.000
<i>Observed as Other Race</i>	-1.221	2.414	.120	.295		.442	.649	.420	1.556
<i>Reported (Rep) Skin Color</i>	-1.728	28.187	.000***	.178		1.155	27.679	.000***	3.174
<i>Difference- Reported and Observed Skin Color</i>	.797	8.868	.003***	2.220		-.531	8.192	.004***	.588
Places									
<i>Grew up in Loíza (intercept)</i>		1.740	.419				1.983	.371	
<i>Grew up Municipio – Metro</i>	1.011	1.485	.223	2.747		-.636	1.080	.299	.530
<i>Grew up Mun. – No Metro</i>	1.252	1.497	.221	3.496		-1.170	1.897	.168	.310
<i>Lives in Medianía Alta (int)</i>		7.787	.051*				1.696	.638	
<i>Lives in Villas de Loíza</i>	2.328	4.705	.030**	10.254		-.111	.024	.876	.895
<i>Lives in Loíza-Pueblo</i>	1.216	1.242	.265	3.373		-.304	.170	.680	.738
<i>Lives in San Isidro</i>	.779	.319	.572	2.178		-.650	1.455	.228	.522
<i>Constant</i>	4.557	7.479	.006	95.252		-6.062	22.960	.000	.002
<i>-2 Log Likelihood</i>		118.850					219.140		
<i>Chi2</i>		182.151					133.389		
<i>Nagelkerke's R2</i>		.736					.543		
<i>Overall %</i>		90.7%					79.0%		
<i>% Correct in Race Model</i>		84.3%					86.1%		
<i>% Corr. EveryOtherRace</i>		93.0%					69.9%		
<i>Valid. Gr. Membership</i>		58.8%					32.6%		

The descriptive results offer some explanation of the significances shown in the second model. For example, 71% of those who answered “Black” were females, as well as 62% of all who identified as “Single” and 58% of those “Married”. These suggest that sample’s overrepresentation of “Blacks”, influenced the significant values

in the Model. Other aspects that can be influencing the results were the socio-demographic differences noticed by study sites ($T_c = (N = 293) = p < .008, = -.125$). For example, participants living in Villas de Loíza or San Isidro were more likely to select “White” and any other marital status but “Single” because they were older (Divorced) and mostly retired couples (Married).

5.1.4.2 Physical Characteristics

Observed race was not significant at any confidence level. However, it is important to highlight that the results of Observed “Black” are moderately correlated to the participants’ selection of “Black” as their race ($t_c = (N = 286) = p < .000, = -.356$) because both the participants and the researcher, agreed with the classification of their race. The results for “Observed Other Race” in Model 1, do not show a significance for this sample but the study finds this could be related to the underrepresentation of participants who selected “White” as their race. Further analysis would be necessary to determine if participants that could be considered “Other Race” in the US Mainland are more likely to select “White.”

Conversely, Model 1’s results for skin color -using the seven-point scale- show that for every darker color the participants thought their skin tone was, the probability of selecting “White” as their racial category decreased (Exp B= .178). This is consistent with the results for Model 2, which showed that for every darker color where participants put themselves, the likelihood of selecting “Black” as their racial category increased (Exp B= 3.174). These suggest that participants were likely to use their self-perceived skin color to classify themselves into a racial category (Landale and Oropesa, 2002).

As mentioned before, “Reported and Observed Skin Tone” referred to the difference between the skin color reported by the participant and the one seemed by the researcher. The results are highly significant for both models ($p=.000$) although there is a difference in the direction. Model 1 shows that for every increase in the difference between the participants’ and researcher’s perception, the likelihood of selecting “White” increased (Exp B= 2.220). Differently, on Model 2, for every unit that moved in the negative direction, the probability of classifying themselves as “Black” increased (Exp B= .588). These results mean that participants who selected “White” as their race, classified themselves darker compared to how the researcher found them, while participants who said to be “Black” were more likely to select a lighter skin tone. This may be related to the fact that almost 70% of those who answered “Black” as their race, reported being “Trigueños” or “4” in the skin color scale, even when only 15% were considered as it by the researcher.

Table 5.3 Difference between the sample’s Reported and Observed Skin Color

	Lightest			Trigueno			Darkest	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
<i>Self-Reported Skin Color</i>	28	27	26	164	14	8	19	286
<i>Observed Skin Color</i>	5	32	42	42	51	82	32	286
Difference	23	-5	-16	122	-37	-74	-13	0

Table 5.3 portrays a detailed analysis of these differences. The table shows that 82% of the participants who selected “1” or “Very light skin” were considered by the researcher as having another skin tone, usually a “2” or “3”. The sample reported to be mostly “Trigueño” (58%), with the second highest proportion of a light skin tone (28%)

between 1 and 3, and fewer of a darker skin tone between 5 and 7 (14%). The “reported skin color” reversed the percentages for those observed as Trigueños (14.7%) and a skin tone between 5 and 7 (58%). The difference between the participants’ and researcher’s perceptions becomes evident when looking at skin tone “4” which had the word “Trigueño” written. This difference (74%) suggests two things: a) the word “Trigueño” may have misled participants or/and b) lighter-skinned and dark-skinned participants have a different meaning for the concept. The variance between reported and observed increased after “4”, reaching another large difference in “6” where over 90% of participants were observed as it, compared to less than 10% who classified their skin tone as it.

5.1.4.3 Place

Variables about places were included to see if the municipio where the participant grew up or the community where they lived could directly influence the way in how the question of race was answered. It’s important to mention that correlation tests show a moderately weak but significant relationship between “race” and study sites ($V = (N = 290) = p < .000, = .282$), which suggests that the communities had different racial composition. The difference by communities is validated in the results for Model 1, that show some significance for participants living in Villas de Loíza and Medianía Alta ($p > 0.10$).

On the case of Villas de Loíza, the data suggest that living in this community increased the probabilities of selecting “White” ($\text{Exp B} = 10.254$). This is confirmed by the results in Figure 5.1 where half of the participants in this community selected

“White” as their race. The results for “observed race”, present a different argument suggesting that this participants were not necessarily “White” but “Other Race.”

The results about places for Model 2 do not show any significance. This means that being from Loíza or living there did not increase the probabilities for answering “Black” even when it is the municipio with the highest proportion of people who answer “Black” (64%) in the Island (2010 US Census). Despite this, the results showed a significant correlation between race and study sites showed that approximately 75% of the participants from Medianía Alta (74.2%) and Loíza-Pueblo (76.9%) who selected Black, compared to 43.8% from San Isidro and 36.7% from Villas de Loíza. Once again, the overrepresentation of participants who selected “Black” can be influencing the results since over half of the participants reported being “Black” independently from the place where they group up (e.g. San Juan, Carolina or Canóvanas).

5.1.5 Culturally Sensitive definition of Race for Puerto Ricans

The previous section analyzed participants’ self-reported race assuming that the concept meant the same as in the United States. This section explores how participants understand race when they are provided with a different setting or a more extensive range of definitions. The results in Figure 5.1 show that participants considered “Parent’s Race” and “Country of Birth” as their main understanding of race since that comprised over 50% of the answers for “first” or “second” definitions. Originally, the researcher included the option “Parent’s Race” as the representation of the United States’ meaning but informal conversations with the participants clarified that their interpretation was different. For them, “Parent’s Race” meant the country where your

parent come from, and not their phenotypical/ethnic characteristics. This means that both definitions, “Country of Birth” and “Parent’s Race”, alluded to places and their narratives because for participants “being born in Puerto Rico” or “having Puerto Rican’s parents” would indicate your race as “Puerto Rican” and not necessarily “White” or “Black.”

For its part, “Culture” ranked approximately third. This is interesting because this answer also refers to the person’s ethnic background, in this case, “Puerto Rican culture.” These results agree with the 2010 US Census Report (Ríos, Romero and Ramirez, 2014) where they discuss the Hispanic’s population write-in codes for “Some Other Race” that were mainly related to ethnic background, followed by the name of places –states or/and regions-. The results for the top three options selected by participants are tied to a "place", in this case, “Puerto Rico” as land and country.

These results support the models because they confirm that skin tone can be a good complement when capturing “race.” The graphic shows that skin tone can be considered a “second”, “third” or “fourth” definition of the concept which is powerful but it might not be enough to substitute it. The results show that Skin Color Participants ranked “Skin Color” and “Other physical characteristics” -such as the nose and mouth shape or hair texture- as fourth and fifth, but together they comprised around 40%, of the third definition and over 50% of the fourth and fifth. The results show consistency across the communities studied and participant’s municipio of origin, suggesting that the answers were consistent among the sample.

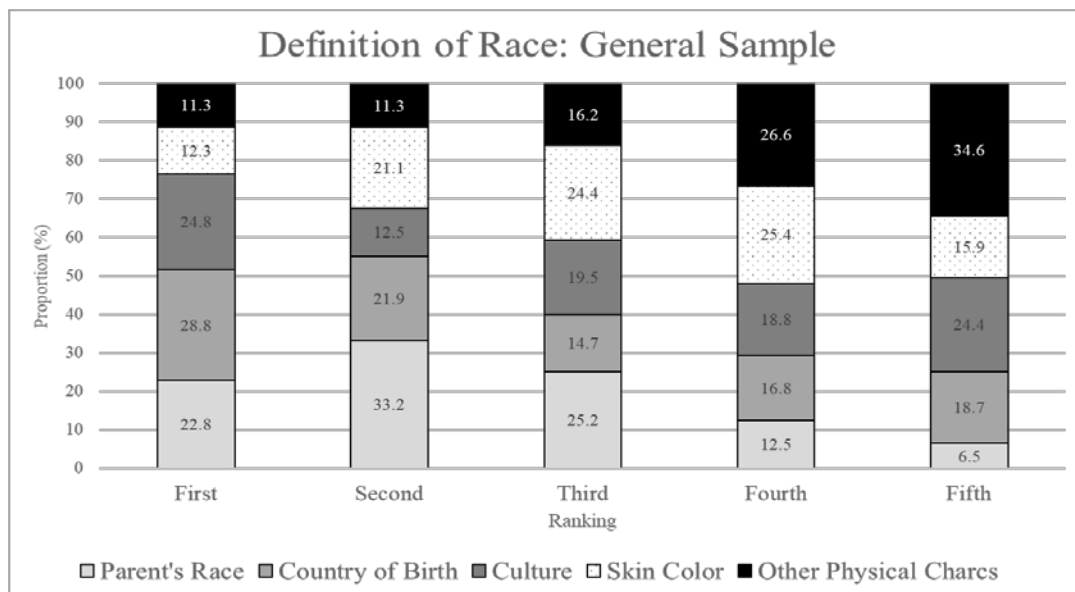


Figure 5.1 Definitions for Race, ranked by the participants

Lastly, participants seem to agree that “Physical/Phenotypical Characteristics” other than skin color contribute to the definition of race but not in the same magnitude that the other options do. The similar proportions they present in the in the fourth and fifth rankings go along with some of the colloquial racial categories that exist on the Island. During the administration of this question many participants considered “skin color” and “physical characteristics” as the definitions of race until they read “culture,” “parent’s race” or “country or birth.” The reason why skin color and physical characteristics are important indicators of race is because there are over thirty informal categories of race in the Island. These definitions combine phenotypical characteristics and skin tones and are as specific or relative as they can be. Some of these descriptions range from “coffee with milk,” “sun-burned,” “a little dark,” “negrito (little black) to

jaba'o (light-skinned person with afro-hair), *pinto* (red hair) or *moyeto* (very dark-skinned Black person).

Main Findings and Conclusions

5.1.6 Variables that contributed to the selection of “White” or “Black”

The models attempted the creation of a participant's profile for who answered “White” or “Black” as their race using similar variables to those found in the US Census. The results did not present any significance for socio-economic variables and the selection of race. Some of the reasons could be related to the overrepresentation of participants with lower socio-economic characteristics and the need to increase participants who reported being light-skinned or “Whites.” Nevertheless, the lack of significance replicates part of the difficulties of identifying racial inequalities with the US Census data.

The data showed how living in a particular community increased (Villas de Loíza) or decreased (Medianía Alta) the likelihood of selecting White as their race. These differences could be related to changes in perception when exposed to diverse populations. In the case of Villas de Loíza, exposure to a wide variety of skin tones can be contributing to a degree of whitening when participants compare themselves with darker-skinned individuals living in the surrounding areas or the northern part of Loíza. In the case of Medianía Alta, the same exposure could be contributing to a better sense

of phenotypical differences such as darker-skinned tone and its association to the race “Black”.

Both models agreed that participants used their skin tones as a reference when selecting their race. In this case, participants who selected White differed from the researcher’s perception of their race (who considered them “Others”) but were more likely to agree on their skin tones’ classification. To the contrary, those who selected “Black” agreed with the researcher’s perception of their race although they were more likely to select a lighter skin tone compared to the one observed by the researcher. These findings suggest that the, already culturally-sensitive definition of “Trigueño” (Allen, 2015; Rogler, 1944; Vargas-Ramos 2005) has different meanings within the same Island. Conversations with the participants suggest that those with lighter skin tone use the concept as a middle-point category, while darker participants automatically refer to it as their skin tone regardless seeing it in the middle of the seven-point scale. In the case of dark-skinned participants, there is a possibility that it is being used as a whitening strategy since selecting it suggests the belief that there are “others” darker than them (Godreau, 2000).

Being able to capture skin tone among everyone who selects “White” (75%) and “Other Race” (8%) in the US Census, will provide us with more specific data to back up racial segregation and racial inequalities on the Island (Denton and Villarrubia, 2007; Vargas-Ramos 2005; Vargas-Ramos, 2005). To be fair, the US Census says it has repeatedly asked the Puerto Rican government to incorporate a different question for Race, but the PR government has always declined (Loveman, 2007). Allegedly, the Puerto Rican government argue the data should be collected in the same way as it is in

the US mainland. Using the Census categories is not appropriate for statistical analysis of race-based distinctions in the Island. Insisting in using only this variables to capture the social construction does not leave room to capture more relevant and detailed descriptions that could explain the make-up of the population. One wonders if there may be "hidden" reasons behind the PR government's answer, such as portraying Puerto Rico as a "White" territory in front of the US Congress to forward the Island's status agendas (Godreau, 2000). Collecting both "race" and "skin color" (Landale and Oropesa, 2002) could allow us to compare data for dark-skinned and no-evidently-Black Puerto Ricans who do not identify with the category "Black" and study the racial profile of impoverished and vulnerable communities.

5.1.7 The place of "Places" in the main definitions of race

After reviewing Puerto Rico's case, where answering an item does not mean sharing the same understanding of the concept we may be asking ourselves, "What's Race?", alternatively, at least, "What's Race for the population?" Defining race as "Place-of-Birth," "Culture" and "Parent's Place-of-Birth and/or Culture" is widely common in Latin American and is even reflected in the US Censuses (Ríos, Romero and Ramirez, 2014). This way of viewing "race" suggests that the population considers the concept as an amalgamation of what in the academia we recognize as "ethnic," "cultural," and even "national" identities. This also suggest that identifying with a race category should not be interpreted as a marker of racial identity in Puerto Rico since its selection may have never involved the degree of reflection necessary to be classified

as it (Chavez and Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Sellers and Shelton, 2003; Wijeyesinghe, and Jackson, 2012).

All those definitions are naturally depended on the narratives created around regions and places, but mainly around those politically defined as “countries.” From a physical perspective, countries are land within a geographic or political boundary. It is for this reason that the research considers countries as places created by agents that are not necessarily the population who lives in them. Governments become responsible for drawing the differences that make the "extension of the land" unique even when there are multiple regional and historical similarities (Carter et al., 1993). In their effort to promote collective identities, they lead cultural discourses through media and the education systems. These two agents allow the government to influence public opinion and in favor of their agenda (Carter et al., 1993). The problem is that they are not always equipped to assume the responsibility of dictating historical and cultural narratives. The case of race in former colonies is an example of how neglecting the way history is taught promotes Euro-centric representation of their populations because whitening is rooted into the culture (David and Okazaki, 2006; Hall, 2003; Hill et al., 2010).

The research discussed is an example of the importance of places when studying threats to racial, ethnic and cultural identity. In this case, people recurred to what they have learned Puerto Rico and its culture is when they are asked to define “race” and to select a racial category from the ones given. In this research participants that could be considered “Other Race” select “White” as their race to cope with the threat to their “Non-Black” identification, while those who reported to be “Blacks” use of the concept "Trigueño" to “whiten” themselves (Vargas-Ramos, 2005). The results confirm that the

notion of Puerto Rico as a racially mixed country has significantly impacted the population's identity. The Institute of Puerto Rican Culture and the Education System have silenced and lessened the African heritage (Godreau et al., 2008; Quiñones, 2006) and contributed to a collective disassociation from Negritude. The selection of "el jíbaro" has given the impression of Puerto Ricans being light-skinned or "trigueños" just because they are sunburned and by doing this it denied "Puerto Ricans" to dark-skinned individuals (Dávila, 1997; Godreau et al., 2008; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006; Quiñones, 2006; Vargas-Ramos 2005). The whitening involved in the selection of "Trigueños" as their skin color can be interpreted as a way dark-skinned Puerto Ricans own the threat that denies their Puerto Ricans to "Black" individuals and affirm their belonging to what has been constructed as "Puerto Rico".

Chapter 6: But, is it History or is it Place? Exploring How the Construction of Places through History influence identification with a racial/ethnic group in Puerto Rico

Introduction

The previous chapter concluded that in Puerto Rico, similar to other Latin American countries, "race" is primarily defined by the person's country of origin and culture or, his/her parents' country of birth or culture. Conceptualizing race in this way increases the importance that narratives created around countries have on racial, ethnic and national identity. This chapter expands on the previous chapter testing how strong the history taught by the government (through the Department of Education's curriculum) can influence identification. To achieve this, the study asked participants to rank the ethnic/racial groups involved in, what it is considered the Puerto Rican history, in the order they believed the groups represented them. This chapter research on what is really influencing participants' identification. Is it the Puerto Rican history or is it the construction of Puerto Rico as a country?

The questionnaires discussed gathered socio-demographic information as well as general aspects about the understanding of race, participant's phenotypical characteristics, information about where they have lived and their opinion about how

much the groups contributed to some cultural aspects. Some of the questions were subjective and had no specific way to answer them correctly or incorrectly, even when informed by a DNA test. The personal selection of a group has representative could have depended on several factors. Its subjectivity made the findings surprising, because originally, the researcher thought answers were going to lack statistical significance but the results presented are an example of the complicated dynamics we need to consider when studying race in Puerto Rico. .

In relation to the IPT, the study approaches threat as the need to proof Puerto Ricans and belonging to the Island. The research examines how their construction of Puerto Rico based on what they have learned in history motivate them to select a group that they feel can represent how they feel or who they are. Findings reflect on the need of participants to project their pride and belonging as their strategy to cope with the threat of feeling excluded from what has been constructed as Puerto Rico.

Method

6.1.1 Variables and Coding

The models discuss in this chapter try to understand some of the variables that influence the selection of a Puerto Rican's history ethnic/racial group as representative-of-the-self. The original question asked participants to rank from "1" to "4" the contribution of each group to whom they were today. The ordinal variable was transformed into four binary variables -Taínos, Spaniards, Africans, Jíbaros- and these

were used as dependent variables or FROS (First Representative of Self). The code "1" was assigned to the group selected as the FROS, while "0" was given to all the other rankings (second, third or fourth). The binary nature of the Models create a profile of the participants who selected the groups as the “first-representative-of the-self” and ignored those who ranked the group as “second,” “third” or “fourth.”

The independent variables included under the categories for “Race” and “Place” were the same used in the previous chapter. These variables were binary coded, where “1” represented the racial category selected by the participant “White” (Reported White), “Black” (“Reported Black”) or “Other Race” (Reported Other Race) and "0" that the person identified with any of the other racial categories provided (i.e., White/Black, Native Indian, Other Race). Please refer to p.89 to read about how the 7-point scale for “Skin Color” was manipulated. The researcher set SPSS to consider the variables for "places" -e.g., “Municipio where the participant grew up” and “Community where the participant currently lives”- as categorical variables, which automatically calculated them as binary data. See p.90 to read the definition of “Grew up in Metro”, “Grew up in No Metro” or “Grew up in Loíza” and the study sites that were coded as the “Community where the participant currently lives.”

The variable “Main Contributor to the Puerto Rican Culture” is based on an index created from a separate set of nine questions (See Appendix I Question 10). These questions asked participants to rank "1, 2, 3" how much they considered "Taínos, Spaniards or Africans" contributed to different cultural aspects. Number “1” was assigned to the group who contributed the most, “2” to the second, and “3” to the least. The nine cultural aspects were, “General Culture, Food, Personality, Skin Color,

Vocabulary, Music, Religion, County's history, and Community's history -where they lived- (study site). The researcher added the total rankings of each ethnic/racial group and created an index for each. The index was then transformed into the ordinal scale used in this model where "1" meant that the participant believed the group contributed the most, "2" moderately and, "3" the least to the Puerto Rican Culture.

The set of variables under the name of "Reason for the Selection" was created using open-ended answers to the question "Why did you select that specific order" referring to the rank given to groups -Taínos, Spaniards, Africans, Jíbaros-. The four categories were created transforming open-ended questions' frequency themes into binary data where "0" represented the absence of that specific category. The categories created were: "Believe or Opinion", "Learned Culture", "Physical Characteristics or Family" and "Land and Place".

"Belief or Opinion" included answers based on assumptions given without follow-up arguments or justifications such as: *"I think this is the correct order"* -#318 or *"I have a bit of each race, I think more Spanish than from the last two"* - #81. "Physical Characteristics or Family" grouped phrases referring to phenotypical descriptions -of themselves or family members-, as well as information heard from a family member. Examples of these are *"My grandfather was Taíno Indian, my grandmother's family was Spanish"* #142 and, *"Because of the color, the African is whose color looks more alike to the one we Puerto Ricans have"* #299. The third category "Land and Place" counted expressions that referred to geographic traits or the understanding of places - Puerto Rico or municipios - to support their ranking. Some phrases included arguments such as *"Because is my Puerto Rico, where we grew up*

and where you can see the Jíbaro, mountains, campo... people have always talked about him (Jíbaro)” - #88 or “This is Loíza’s nature” - #226. Finally, classification “Learned it/ PR Culture” was based on implicit and explicit expressions of knowledge or a direct reference to someone who taught them the fact. Most of the answers were related to material learned at school or related to the government’s history’s discourse. Many included phrases such as “According to what we studied (learned) at school” - #287 or “Taínos are the base (foundation), the Jíbaro is more advanced... the Native Indians were first, then the Spaniards and then the Africans... those three mixed and we got the jibarito (diminutive for Jíbaro)” - #29.

Results

6.1.2 Sample

A total of 293 participants (69% women) completed the surveys in three communities in Loíza -Villas de Loíza (31%), Loíza-Pueblo (21%), Medianía Alta (22%) - and one in Canóvanas -San Isidro (26%)-. Approximately 45% of the sample grew up in Loíza, although most of these (90%) were from Loíza-Pueblo and Mediania Alta compared to those living in Villas de Loíza (13%) or San Isidro (4%). At the same time, those living in Villas de Loíza (73%) and San Isidro (85%) were mostly from other municipio in Metropolitan Area (San Juan (21%), Canóvanas (17%), Carolina (12%)) compared to those from the other two communities (8%). For their part, Villas de Loíza (14%) and San Isidro (11%) had the highest proportion of participants coming

from any other municipio (outside the Metropolitan Area) compared to those living in Loiza-Pueblo (1.5%) and Medianía Alta (1.5%).

According to the participant's racial classification, 55% of the general sample reported being "Black," compared to 27% who selected "White," 3% "Native Indian" and 5% "Other Race." The sample reported to be mostly "Trigueño" (58%), with the second highest proportion of a light skin tone (28%) between 1 and 3, and fewer of a darker skin tone between 5 and 7 (14%). The skin tones vary by study site, being Villas de Loiza the community with the highest proportion of participants with a reported skin tone between 1 and 3 (42%), followed by San Isidro (27%), Medianía Alta (15%) and Loiza-Pueblo (10%). The previous chapter discusses some of the differences between the reported and observed racial and skin color characteristics.

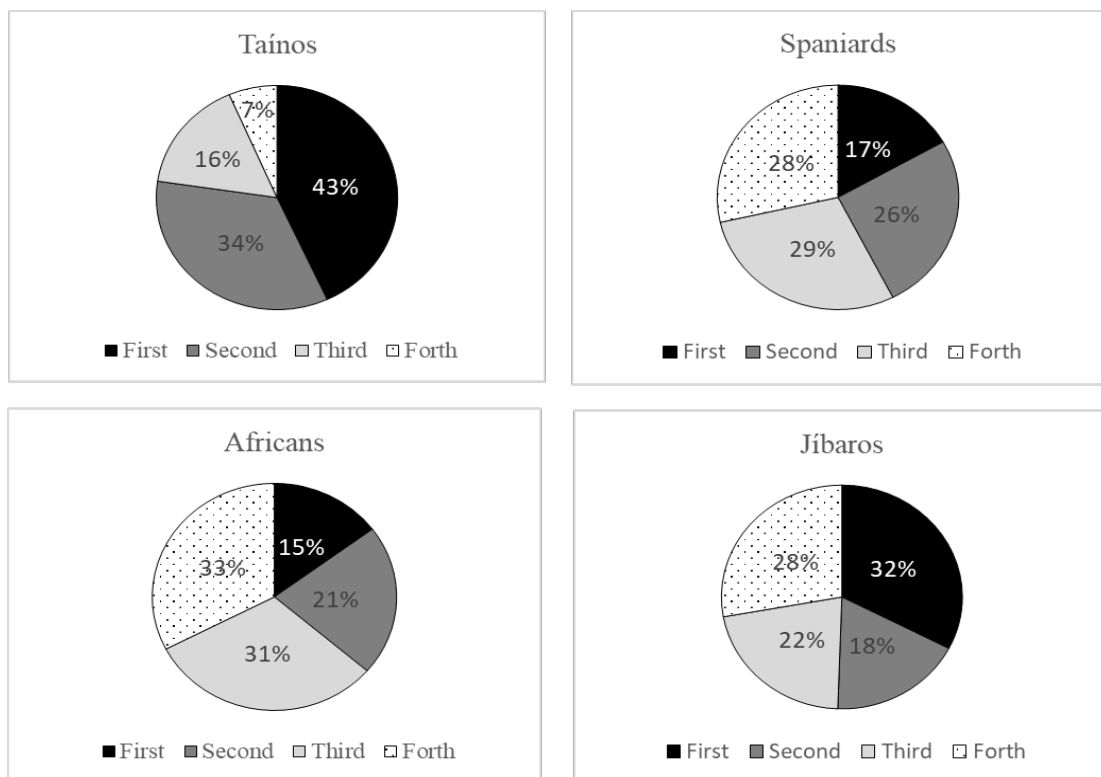


Figure 6.1 Ranking of the ethnic/racial groups involved in the Puerto Rican history

Figure 6.1 shows how participants ranked each group. In general, Native Indians (Taínos) were selected as the “FROS” by most of the participants (43%) but its total increased to 77% if those who ranked them as “second” are added. Spaniards for their part seemed evenly ranked among the categories, especially for “second” (26%), “third” (29%), and “fourth” (28%). Spaniards (17%) and Africans (15%) were the least popular groups to be selected as “FROS”, although Africans were ranked by most as third (31%) and fourth (33%). Lastly, approximately one-third (32%) of the participants ranked Jíbaros as “FROS.”

6.1.3 Testing the selection of Taínos, Spaniards, Africans or Jíbaros as representatives

The four binary logistic regressions (See Table 6.1) sought the understanding of how participants selected the ethnic/racial group they felt represented them the best. The models were statistically significant when testing them against the constant-only (“Taínos” (chi-square = 38.996, $p < .001$ with $df = 16$); “Spaniards” (chi-square = 30.811, $p < .014$ with $df = 16$); “Africans” (chi-square = 60.548, $p < .000$ with $df = 16$); “Jíbaros” (chi-square = 29.215, $p < .023$ with $df = 16$), communicating that the predictors included impacted the selection of the ethnic/racial group as FROS. The results indicated that the regression explained between 20%-26% of the variance in Models for Taínos ($R^2=.260$), Spaniards ($R^2=.261$) and Jíbaros ($R^2=.203$), while almost 50% of it in the African ($R^2=.499$).

6.1.4 Influence of Self-Perceived Race and Skin Tone

The Model for those who ranked "Taínos" as FROS showed significance for two racial categories while the "Africans as FROS" model only for the skin color reported. Selecting "Spaniards" and "Jíbaros" as FROS did not show any findings when considering participants' race or skin tone. The results show that those who reported being "Other Race" were less likely to select "Taínos" as FROS ($B = -2.404$). This is not too surprising since only 11.6% of those reported to be "Other Race." Table 6.2 those who reported to be "Other Race" were more likely to rank the group as second (48%) compared to those who answered "White" (27%) "Black" (32%) or "Natives" (25%). Similarly, participants who selected "Black" (46%), were less probable to rank "Taínos" as FROS ($B = -2.404$). This was unexpected because 58% of "Blacks" ranked Taínos as FROS, but again, it may be due to the high proportion of those who ranked them second, third or fourth, which together added 54%.

The reality is that only 14.5% of the sample selected "Africans" as FROS, which suggests some rejection to identifying with the group. The researcher also finds surprising that the Model "Africans" was not significant for any race, especially for those who responded to be "Black." A possible reason may be the moderate correlation that existed between race and ranking "Africans".

	Taínos as FROS				Spaniards as FROS				Africans as FROS				Jíbaros as FROS			
	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp B	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp B	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp B	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp B
Race and Skin Tone																
<i>Reported as White</i>	-1.693	2.019	.155	.184	18.972	.000	.999	173E	18.402	.000	.999	981E	.850	.485	.486	2.339
<i>Reported as Black</i>	-2.404	4.402	.036**	.090	19.631	.000	.999	335E	19.259	.000	.999	231E	1.309	1.204	.272	3.702
<i>Reported as Other Race</i>	-2.183	3.246	.072*	.113	19.175	.000	.999	215E	18.066	.000	.999	701E	1.859	2.189	.139	6.418
<i>Reported (Rep) Skin Color</i>	.050	.094	.759	1.051	-.247	1.324	.250	.781	.498	4.349	.037**	1.645	-.059	.138	.710	.943
Place																
<i>Grew up in Loíza (intercept)</i>		7.812	.020**			5.346	.069*			.699	.705			1.145	.564	
<i>Grew up Municipio – Metro</i>	1.432	3.410	.065*	4.185	-1.823	4.285	.038**	.161	19.798	.000	.998	396E	-.959	1.067	.302	.383
<i>Grew up Municipio – No Metro</i>	-.986	.5258	.467	.373	-.831	.535	.465	.436	18.851	.000	.998	153E	-.611	.817	.366	.543
<i>Lives in Medianía Alta (Loíza)</i>		4.480	.214			3.524	.318			1.861	.602			3.701	.296	
<i>Lives in Villas de Loíza (Loíza)</i>	-1.372	2.608	.106	.254	1.329	1.952	.162	3.777	-.665	.244	.622	.514	1.414	3.222	.073*	4.112
<i>Lives in Loíza-Pueblo (Loíza)</i>	-1.155	1.874	.171	.315	.976	.935	.333	2.654	.082	.004	.948	1.086	.909	1.304	.253	2.482
<i>Lives in San Isidro (Canóvanas)</i>	.432	.738	.390	1.540	-.558	.739	.390	.572	-.838	1.455	.228	.433	.519	.832	.362	1.680
Main Contributor to the Puerto Rican Culture																
<i>Taínos</i>	-1.035	7.096	.008**	.355	.447	.840	.359	1.563	.334	.288	.592	1.396	.032	.007	.932	1.032
<i>Spaniards</i>	.091	.062	.803	1.096	-1.273	7.085	.008**	.280	-.095	.031	.861	.909	.062	.029	.865	1.064
<i>Africans</i>	.074	.043	.836	1.076	-.202	.190	.663	.817	-1.357	5.639	.018*	.257	.061	.030	.863	1.063
Reason for the selection of the order																
<i>“I believe so...”</i>	-.450	.814	.367	.638	-.161	.059	.808	.851	1.787	5.292	.021**	5.969	-.335	.439	.508	.715
<i>“Learned it / PR Culture”</i>	-.253	.317	.574	.776	.072	.015	.903	1.074	1.840	6.390	.011**	6.297	-.383	.751	.386	.682
<i>“Family / Physical Charact.”</i>	-.776	2.665	.103	.460	.511	.733	.392	1.667	2.564	14.135	.000***	12.99	-.350	.548	.459	.705
<i>“Place and/or Land”</i>	-1.126	5.770	.016**	.324	-.209	.138	.710	.811	-.640	.626	.429	.527	1.030	6.232	.013**	2.802
Constant	2.347	.908	.341	10.457	-18.394	.000	.999	.000	-42.063	.000	.998	.000	-1.988	.768	.381	.137
-2 Log Likelihood	206.320				133.187				91.951				206.754			
Chi2	38.996				30.811				60.548				29.215			
Nagelkerke's R2	.260				.261				.499				.203			
Overall %	72.1%				84.9%				88.4%				71.9%			
% Correct FROS Modeled	54.2%				23.3%				44.4%				35.5%			
% Correct Every Other Rep	83.2%				96.8%				96.1%				90.2%			

Table 6.1 Models Results for selecting Taínos, Spaniards, Africans or Jíbaros as First Representative of the Self (FROS)

(TB = (N = 266) = $p < .000$, = $-.255$). It is interesting to see the scattered ranking of those who reported to be “Blacks” since only 23% of them selected Africans as FROS, 27% as “second-representative”, 31% as “third” and 19% as “fourth”. The study finds that the proportion of “Blacks” classifying Africans as “second” or “thirds” is alarmingly high. This does not mean that participants who responded “Black” were expected to select “Africans” as FROS but Puerto Ricans living outside of Loíza and the literature consider Loíza’s residents were very proud of their African heritage (Dávila, 1997; Solares, 2001; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006).

Table 6.2 Ranking of Taínos as FROS by Participants’ Reported Race

Which group represents you best? - Tainos					
	First	Second	Third	Forth	<i>Total</i>
White	31	20	19	4	<i>74</i>
Black	69	49	22	10	<i>150</i>
Native Indian	6	2	0	0	<i>8</i>
Other Race	14	20	4	4	<i>42</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>274</i>

Lastly, the Model for selecting “Africans” show significant values for the reported skin-color variable. The results suggest that with every increase in the ordinal variable of skin tone, the likelihood of selecting “African” as also increased ($B = 1.645$). According to the descriptive analysis, 92% of those who chose “Africans” as FROS reported that their skin tone was a number between “4” and “7.” From this total, 58% reported being “4/Trigueños”, 14% reported “5”, 3% being “6” and 25% being “7”. The overrepresentation of “Trigueños” among those who answered “Black” and the

lack of selection of Africans as FROS, affirm the suspected signs of “Whitening” found in the previous chapter.

6.1.5 Place where you grew up vs. Place where you live and the Selection of FROS

Results suggest that growing up in Loíza or in a county coded as Metro-Area increased the likelihood of selecting Taínos as FROS ($B = 1.432$). Although the statistical tests does not show a relationship at 0.05 confidence level between these variables ($T_c = (N = 272) = p < .093, = .132$), the descriptive data supports that approximately 46.5% of those who selected “Taínos as FROS” grew up in Loíza and 50% of grew up on the Metro Area (Canóvanas, Carolina or San Juan), compared to only 3.5% of those who grew up outside of these counties. In general, “Spaniards” were not popularly selected as FROS (17%) but the model suggests growing up in Loíza, or the Metro Area would decrease the likelihood of selecting it ($\text{Exp } B = .161$). The test did not show any correlation to the place where these participants grew up ($T_c = (N = 273) = p < .751, = -.016$). The descriptive data confirmed this since only 18.5% of those from Loíza and 14% from the defined Metro Area selected the group as FROS.

Lastly, the model for selecting “Jíbaros” seemed influenced by the area where the participants lived, in this case, “Villas de Loíza” ($\text{Exp } B = 4.112$). Selecting Jíbaros as FROS was the second most popular option (32.6%) and its election showed a weak correlation with community where the participant lived ($T_c = (N = 273) = p < .000, = -.275$). The descriptive data support that approximately 45% of those who selected “Jíbaros” lived in this community, compared to those living in San Isidro (29%), in

Loíza-Pueblo (16%) or Medianía Alta (10%). Also, 54% of those who were from a municipio outside the Metropolitan Area lived in this community.

6.1.6 Attributing a larger proportion of contributions to the group selected

As mentioned before, the original set of questions sought to understand how participants believed the ethnic/racial groups influenced different aspects of the Puerto Rican culture. The models for selecting “Taínos,” “Spaniards” and “Africans” show that participants attributed the most cultural contributions to the group they selected as FROS. The negative values mean that for every increase in the scale (selection of the group as “most” (1), “moderate” (2) or “least” (3) contributor to the PR Culture), the odds of selecting the group as FROS decreased (Taínos Exp B= (.355); Spaniards Exp B= (.280); Africans Exp B= (-.257)). The results validate themselves because the three groups that showed significance in the models were the only included in the question about their contributions to the Puerto Rican culture.

In general, participants attributed two out of nine aspects to Spaniards, Vocabulary and Religion. These can be considered the obvious choices because they referred to Spanish and Roman Catholicism, the main spoken language and historically dominant religion in the Island. Participants only attributed Music, as the cultural aspect to which Africans contributed the most (39.5%) and it was a tie with Taínos (39.2%). Once again, the results suggest that participants were strongly biased in favor of Taínos (Natives Indians). The responders believed that Natives were the primary contributors to six out of the nine cultural aspects (General Culture, Food, Personality, Skin Color, Municipio, and Community). The preference for Native Indians was not

limited to their selection as “first contributor” to the majority of the aspects, but also as the “second leading contributor” to six out of the nine aspects (Vocabulary, Music, Religion, Personality, Municipio, and Community). These results show an alarming preference for the Taíno group even when some of the results went against common sense and there is a lack of proof for the contributions this group has done areas such as “Personality” or “Music.”

The data collected are in line with previous research (Alvarez, CEREP and Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992; Duany, 2002; Dávila, 1997; Hernández-Hiraldo, 2006) that support that this groups is being romanticized in Puerto Rico. While the ranking of some cultural aspects were open to interpretation (e.g. Personality, Community), the truth is that the majority of these cultural aspects (e.g. General Culture, Food, Skin Color, Vocabulary, Music, Religion) should have been attributed to either Spaniards or Africans in the first and second place. Also, as Alvarez et al. (1992) mention, the knowledge about Taínos is limited to what archeologist, anthropologist, and historians interpret, and that there was no proof of concrete contributions to the Puerto Rican accent (phonetics), cuisine (cooking style, flavors) or music notes or rhythm, among others.

6.1.7 Explicit Reason given by participants after selecting a Representative

The Models for selecting “Taínos,” “Africans” and “Jíbaros” as FROS had significant results for one or more of the categories created from open-ended answers. The results for the open-ended questions show that approximately 42% of the answers included, at least, one reason that included a topic related to “Learned Culture.” The

responses coded with the theme “Learned Culture” usually appeared combined with one or more of the other three themes. “Land and Place”, “Physical Characteristics or Family” and “Belief or Opinion” comprised approximately an additional 20% of the themes each.

6.1.7.1 Africans as FROS: Ambiguous Relation

Model #3 shows that participants tended to select “Africans” as FROS because they personally believed it (Exp B= 1.787), they learned it (Exp B= (1.840) or, had family members with phenotypical characteristics associated with this group (Exp B= 14.135) (See definitions in pages 16). Descriptive results for the categories “Belief or Opinion” and “Learned Culture” were not significant but there was a weak correlation between “Family/Physical Characteristics” and the ranking given to Africans ($T_c = (N = 204) = p < .003, = 264$). This is because approximately 55% of those who ranked Africans as “first” and 31% of those who ranked them as “second” gave a reason related to their physical characteristics or family history. The correlation is weak because, overall, participants were not likely to rank Africans as FROS (14.8%) and when they did, they mentioned both positive and negative aspects to explain the reason behind that selection.

For example, Participant #75, from San Isidro, was observed by the researcher as “Black” with a skin color of “6”, but he reported to be “Other Race” and “4”. He ranked his representatives as “Africans” -first-, Taínos, Jíbaros and Spaniards and answered: *“Because I believe that the Africans, being slaves, come from the misery and, in this way they are stronger when they try to do something.”* This quote classified under the category “I believe so...” and, it is interesting to see how was written in

“present tense”. It also shows an ambiguous explanation about a) positive characteristics he identifies with as strong will or commitment, but it implicitly gives negative reasons for his selection of Africans as FROS such as being slaves and living in misery.

Participant #314 is an example of selecting “Africans” as FROS and given an explanation that fitted into “Learned it/ PR Culture” and “Land and Place.” This male from Medianía Alta, who reported to be “Black, 4/Trigueño” (Observed as “Black, 5”), ranked his representation as “African, Taíno, Jíbaro, and Spaniards”. In his answer, he says: *“Because sadly my roots and culture are from Blacks. The Native Indians became extinct, and the Spaniards moved to the mountains... Africans stayed on the coasts...”* The adjective “sadly” suggests some resignation or a negative connotation towards the “African” group, however, his explanation shows some knowledge about history and geographic settlement patterns of the groups. He also acknowledges the African contributions to “his” culture, even when it is not clear if he is referring to the Puerto Rican Culture in general, to Loíza as municipio or his personal/family culture.

Finally, an example of a participant who selected “Africans” and gave a reason that fall into “Family/Physical Characteristics” is #97. This was a woman from Medianía Alta, who identified as “Black, 5” (Observed as “Black, 4/Trigueño”) and ranked the representative of herself as “Africans” -first-, “Taínos,” “Spaniards” and “Jíbaros.” She said: *“My family is quite corpulent, their features went more towards the Africans and physical features and genetics”*. This answer also shows ambiguous messages such as acceptance and denial of the African group. On the one hand, she accepts that her family’s physical characteristics are more alike to those understood as

“the Africans”. However, on the other hand, the words selected imply she excluded herself from sharing those phenotypical features even when she identified her skin tone darker than the one perceived by the researcher.

6.1.7.2 Taínos as FROS: Here, Name and Belonging

The Models for selecting “Taínos” and “Jíbaros” as FROS only presented significant results for the category “Land and Place” but the direction of the relationships varied by group. For those who selected Taínos, the likelihood of giving a reason related to “Land and Place” decreased (Exp B= -1.126) while for those who selected Jíbaros, it increased (Exp B= 1.030).

There are three possible reasons of why the model shows a negative relationship between Land and Place and the selection of Taínos. First, is that only 18% of the participants who selected Taínos as FROS mentioned something related to “Land and Place” compared to over 43% of those who ranked Jíbaros. Another explanation is the correlation of these “Land and Place” category (86.7%) with responses that fell into the category “Learned Culture.” The answers were classified into both categories because they followed the government discourse which supported that Natives Indians lived in Puerto Rico before the arrival of the other groups. Lastly, the third explanation of the direction could be almost 50% of those who gave a reason related to “Land and Place” ranked Taínos as “second” compared to those who ranked them first (26%). Something interesting that emerged from the open-ended results was the emphasis in the word “here,” and its relationship with the history taught. The definition of “here” varied depending on what participants wanted to say, but they mainly referred to the municipio -Loíza/Canóvanas- or Puerto Rico.

An example of defining Loíza as “here” is participant #225, a 64 years old female from Loíza-Pueblo, who selected, “Black/3” (Obs. as “Black/5”). She said *“...because Taínos are our origin here in Loíza. Native Indians are even in our name “Loaiza” (meaning Yuisa), Loíza’s female chief... The Jíbaro is the Taíno’s heritage, the land’s sow, the music...”* Quotes like this that also mention *Boriken* (Natives’ name for Puerto Rico) demonstrate that “name” can also influence the notion of place.

Participant #90, a woman from San Juan who answered to be “White, 3”, (Obs. “Other Race, 3”) provided one of the short answers that referred to Puerto Rico as “here.” She ranked the groups as “Taínos, Jíbaros, Spaniards, and Africans” and wrote, *“Because they are from here, not Africans because they are Black”*. Similarly, #42, woman from Loíza who put “White, 2” (Obs. “Other Race, 3”), classified “Taínos” as first but did not assigned a rank to the other groups said *“Because in Puerto Rico, this Island, before arriving the Spaniards and Africans, were the Native Indians”*. Lastly, Participant #54, woman from Carolina who answer “White, 4/Trigueño” (Obs. “Other Race, 4/Trigueño”) and ranked *“Taínos, Spaniards, Africans, Jíbaros”* stated *“Because the Native Indians, they were living here already when Spaniards came to colonize this country and then brought the Africans and then got the Jíbaro race”*. These quotes do not only make reference to Puerto Rico as “here” and echo the government discourse about the Island’s history, but that also construct the Island as the Taínos’ home or place of origin.

6.1.7.3 Jíbaros as FROS: From el Campo

In the case of the Model for selecting “Jíbaro” as FROS, participants who answered something related to “Land and Place” usually referred to three aspects a)

Puerto Rico as the place where the Jíbaro was originated, b) Jíbaros being from “*el campo*” (rural areas, mountains, nature or field, and c) Jíbaros relationship with the land.

An example of the first is, Participant #115, a woman from Canóvanas, who self-identified as “Other Race: Latina, 7”, (Observed as “Black, 6”). She ranked her representatives as Jíbaro, Taíno, African, and Spaniard, and answered: “*Jíbaros are born here... the mix of the Spaniard, African, and Taíno who were already established in Boriken-*”. Her answer suggests she selected her FROS based on the understanding that Jíbaros are from Puerto Rico, like herself and, that they represent the mix of the groups given. As mentioned before, her reference to her second selection, the Natives Indians, is tied to the idea of Taíno was the first group living on the Island. It’s unclear what importance she gives to her physical characteristics, if she “whitened” herself ranking Taínos before African, but what it is clear is that she ranked Spaniards at last. Similarly, #50 a woman from San Juan who selected White, 1 (Obs. Other Race, 2) and ranked Jíbaro, Spaniard, Taíno and African wrote “*Because Puerto Rico is always characterized by the Jíbaros, that’s our pride*”. In this one, she recognized that Jíbaros represent Puerto Rico, and her identification with the Island seemed that guide her logic.

An example of participants who selected the group because of their rural provenance is a woman from Loíza-Pueblo (#253), who answered “Other Race: Morenita -little brown”-, reported her skin tone as “4/Trigueña”, (Obs. “Other Race, 3”) and ranked “Jíbaro, Spaniard, African and Taíno”. She wrote: “*We identify as peasants, obviously... my family grew up in ‘el campo’*”. For its part, Participant #21,

a woman from the outside the metropolitan area (did not mention the municipio), who self-identified as “Black, 4/Trigueño”, (Obs. “Black, 6”) and only ranked Jíbaros as “1” and Africans as “4” said *“I chose Jíbaro because I was born in a small town in ‘el campo’”*. These answers go along with the government discourse of “Jíbaros” being of humble origins from rural areas in Puerto Rico’s central mountains.

Lastly, it is important to mention that some of the answers given under “Jíbaros being from rural areas” also referred the relationship with the land. Participant #93, a 25 years old, White-3 male (Obs. Other Race, 2), from rural Canóvanas, who ranked “Jíbaro” his FROS, followed by Taíno, Spaniard, and African, answered: *“I am all about everything related to “el campo”, plants, animals...”* Another example can be #91 a 65 years old female who answered “Black, 4” (Obs. “Black, 7” from Carolina. She ranked her FROS as Jíbaros, African, Taínos and Spaniards and answered: *“Because we are all “jibaritos” (diminutive for jíbaro) because of our culture, sow, and those things..., living style, agriculture”*. The examples show a relationship with the land even at its simple level, such as growing gardens, planting -or liking to plant- tomatoes for their own consumption, or raising -or having- chickens made them identify with the Jíbaro image.

Main Findings and Conclusion

This chapter tested some of the variables that could predict identification with the racial/ethnic groups discussed in history. Identification with these groups was considered relevant because they are an essential part of Puerto Rico's construction as

a racially diverse country. The reason behind studying them was to differentiate how much impact the history promoted by the government has on identity and/or if other aspects could also influence it. The models suggest that self-perceived race and skin tone, as well as growing up in certain counties or living in a specific community affect the likelihood of selecting particular groups as the first representative of themselves (FROS).

In general, the data showed that 44% of the sample ranked Taínos as “first,” but additionally, an also high proportion of those who reported being “Other Race” (48%) and “Black” (33%) were likely to rank them as second. When considering how places directly influenced the selection, the tests demonstrated that growing up in Loíza, Canóvanas, Carolina, or San Juan increased the likelihood of choosing Taínos as first, while growing up outside of them increased the chances of selecting “Spaniards” as FROS. There was also a significant result for choosing “Jíbaro” and “living in Villas de Loíza,” the community with the highest proportion of people coming from municipios outside of the Metropolitan region. The results also revealed that participants were more likely to rank a particular group as FROS based on how they believed it contributed to the Puerto Rican Culture. This was the case for the “Taínos”, “Spaniards” and “Africans” models, regardless of how correct or incorrect the attributions to that group were.

Participants who selected “Africans” as “first” seemed to have three reasons: a) they were convinced the group represented them even when they did not justify their answer, b) they said they learned it at school, or c) they or some family members had physical characteristics associated to Africans. This last one confirmed the results for

“skin color” which showed that participants who reported to have darker-skin were more likely rank the group as FROS. Participants showed ambiguities at the open-ended questions and give answers with both, positive and negative connotations when justifying their selection. These negative biases were not only shown when talking about “Africans” as their first representative but also when ranking them as “third” contributors to the general Puerto Rican culture.

The construction of places, especially about Puerto Rico, played a very particular role in this Chapter. The results for open-ended questions demonstrated how important names can be when influencing the populations’ idea of themselves. This was evident when justifying their selection of Taínos as FROS by calling the Island “Boriken” instead of “Puerto Rico” or mentioning “Yuisa” when talking about Loíza. For many participants the fact of a Taíno-sounding name was enough to justify their association with the Natives. Something similar happened when they were ranking the groups based on their contributions to the current Puerto Rican cuisine. Many participants in Loíza-Pueblo and Medianía Alta instantly ranked Taínos as main contributor to the food because of “*el casabe*” (Taíno dish made of yucca). Participants often accompanied the phrase “here in Loíza we make *casabe*,” some even referring to their mothers or female-family members who cook the dish. This was surprising because they ignored, or chose to ignore, the fried dishes inherited from Africans widely associated to the tourism in Loíza.

Participants who selected Jíbaro as “first” used a clear geographic reference to Puerto Ricans’ Central Region which is characterized by mountains, rivers and its agricultural activities. They also mentioned that Jíbaros represented them based on their

municipio of origin and personal preference to “work the land.” The ranking of the Jíbaro was also associated to the idea of “him” (referred as male) being the product of “the three races” (Taínos, Spaniards, and Africans). Many quoted the history learned to show why it was the obvious choice for them.

Lastly, place as a theme also emerged from the relationship of Taínos and Jíbaros with Puerto Rico. For participants, Puerto Rico was the place of origin of these two groups (some mentioned the word “home”), and because of this, they felt they represented them the best. Most of the answers explaining the selection of Taínos included the phrase “they were from here” which should invite us to reflect on why Spanish and Africans were not significant for “Place” or “Land.” One of the possible explanations could be the implicit associations of “Spain” as the country and “Africa” as a continent that exists in the groups' name. This understanding takes away the groups' belongingness to the Island in a similar way it happens in the US with the concept “African-Americans” and ever-going foreign-status (Bennett, 1967; McWhorter, 2004).

6.1.8 The place of “Places” in the selection of a Representative

Previous research (Dávila, 1997; Duany, 2002; Goudreau et al. 2008; Hernández-Hiraldó, 2006; Quiñones, 2006) points to the strong influence the government has when leading the discourse of history in Puerto Rico through the Education System. This chapter presented the results when participants are asked to select one of the group taught in history as the first representative of themselves. Now the next question to ask is, did history really influence their ranking? Well, yes and no.

Yes, because participants' open-ended answers and groups' ranking were intrinsically related to the government's arguments about history. This suggests their previous knowledge led most of their responses. But, also no, because it is the idea of Puerto Rico, as "Taínos' home" and "Land of the Jibarito" is what really motivated them to identify with the two groups.

In the case of Puerto Rico, the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture created the narrative about PR being a "racially mixed" country, but in the process, it denied the Puerto Ricans to the African group. The results show that Spaniards were also excluded, but differently because, even when Jíbaros are seen as "a mix of the three races" they are mostly perceived as the Spaniards' offspring. The denial of belongingness for the African group is continuously reflected in the findings when participants refer to them as "brought here" and do not recognize their contribution to the Puerto Rican culture.

When considering the Identity Process Theory, we can interpret that the "threat to identity" could be the possibility of not being considered "Puerto Rican enough." It is not clear to whom they wanted to prove that "Puerto Ricans" but seems like participants had the urgency to reaffirm they were "*De aquí como el coquí*" (From "here" like the "*coquí*" (native frog), and the best way to demonstrate it was through identifying with groups they learned belonged to the Island. The research also tried to challenge the notion of places as manifestations of identity by proposing they are active influencers even when they are constructed (not necessarily physically) by agents that are not the populations who live in them. This is why the study argues that

it is the imposed idea about Puerto Rico what directly influences the population's identity who re-interpret it to define themselves.

It is essential to recognize the narrative governments create around places (e.g., countries). In Puerto Rico, what began as an effort to develop national unity in 1955, has had distinct spatial impacts on the Puerto Rican population. The influence that created places have on identity can be part of oppressive structures of power or a tool to educate the people and catalyze social integration to historically marginalized populations, especially in those suffering from lack acknowledgment of the African heritage. . This case shows an example of how the Puerto Ricannes is denied to the groups considered foreign and demonstrated, through the responses of those who reported being "Black," how dark-skinned participants reclaim their belonging to the constructed Puerto Rico by identifying with Taínos. The results of this study can be used to investigate the short, and long-term impacts of rules and regulations for planned communities and towns have on their populations. This research is an example of the broad social, cultural and political implications that governments' created and sanctioned places can have over their people.

Chapter 7: “Name the first three things that comes to you mind when I say Loíza”: Comparing how the same descriptions about a place are used differently by sites

Introduction

The previous chapters discussed how the construction of a place (i.e., Puerto Rico) and the history of the groups associated with it influenced participant’s selection of a racial category or a representative of themselves. This third chapter expands on how the narratives assigned to political borders are used by people when referring about them. In this case, the study focuses on the constructions at a county level (municipio) and how what they have heard about Loiza and Canovanas is used by participants to inform their answers. The chapter pays particular attention to a theme that consistently emerged from the interviews “Loiza is a place with a lot of culture.” The responses and connotations are compared by study sites and analyzed through the lens of the Identity Process Theory. This study seeks to answer how can the constructions of place influence the way people think and talk about them and ultimately, how they identify - or not- with them.

Method

7.1.1 Two-Step Cluster Analysis

The Cluster Analysis is a classification technique widely known in many disciplines (Saenz et al. 2011; Wotela & Moultrie, 2008) but especially in business, statistics and medicine (Ahn et al. 2012; Marshman et al., 2017; Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011; Stoll et al. 2006; Tkaczynski et al., 2010). The method is designed to identify similarities among objects -in this case, variables- and group them into homogeneous clusters. The test is also known for forming clusters that differentiate well from one another (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011). For this reason, it is recommended that researchers take special care in the number of variables included (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011) because variables that are correlated between them can produce misleading findings (Dolnicar, 2002; Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011).

SPSS contains three clustering techniques, Hierarchical, K-Means, and Two-Step Cluster. The Hierarchical or agglomerative clustering merges clusters according to similarities considering every variable as an individual-cluster first and, then combining all those that have the smaller distance between them. The procedure of combining the clusters is known as “steps” and once a cluster is formed the variable remains there (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011). Differently, in the K-Means algorithm, the variables keep changing their affiliation to a cluster until the end of the process. This technique starts the process by assigning variables to random clusters and using inner cluster variation (instead of the distance between them) to discriminate which variable remains in a cluster or changes to another.

The Two-Step Cluster algorithm was selected over the two other techniques because it combines their procedures (Tkaczynski et al., 2010) and allows the inclusion of both nominal and continuous data. This analysis was also selected because it is not limited by small or large samples size and its output specifies the importance of each variable for the construction of the clusters (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011).

In this case, a sample size of twenty five is considered small but it is higher than the minimum recommended of eight for the number of variables (three) and it is proximate to minimum optimal size of twenty-seven (Dolnicar, 2002). This study also follows recommendations such as including a small number of well-defined variables; using a reasonably low number of clusters compared to the total of variables included; comparing the results of two models, one run with the clusters determined by the program and a second when the researcher fixed the number of them and; showing internal consistency of the results with another technique -frequency from interviews- (Brusco et al. 2017; Dolnicar, 2002; Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011; Punj and Stewart, 1983).

7.1.2 Interviews' themes and frequencies

The study invited participants who expressed their willingness to share their knowledge about the split of Loíza and Canóvanas in 1972. The researcher conducted a total of twenty-five interviews in Spanish on the four study sites. This chapter analyzes the answers to two out of ten open-ended questions regarding the split. This research focused on the three questions: "What do you think differentiates Loíza and Canóvanas the most?" and "Can you tell me the three first things that come to your mind when I mention "Loíza"?". The last question was a variant of the previous

question substituting "Loíza" for "Canóvanas." Participants appeared to feel comfortable with the conversation and the researcher's presence. The questions did not seem to stress them and they acted calmed and conscious when responding (Jimenez et al., 2018; Hoppe and Kusterer, 2011).

The interviews were transcribed Spanish-to-Spanish and coded using MAXQDA 2018. Thirteen themes emerged from the answers: four central themes related to Loíza ("Culture", "People", "Lack of Progress" and "Geography"), four to Canóvanas ("Progress/Aid", "Infrastructure/Landmarks", "Politics/Governmental Services" and "Any Other Topic") and three connotations ("Positive", "Neutral", "Negative") that were matched to each answer given. Particular definitions are discussed further because the same themes are approached differently by study sites. However "Loíza's Culture" is the most common topic and it is similarly defined across the communities which included answers related to cultural aspects such as music, dances, food, crafts, religion or just the word "culture." This chapter discusses the answers given by the participants, their connotations and how these varied by study sites.

In this research, the code "connotations" was created using the researcher's judgment in the third of five coding rounds after noticing a pattern in the way participants used different tones and emotions when responding. The codes were also assigned considering the tone that participants had during the entire interview and how it changed or remained when talking about that specific topic. Neutral connotations were given to answers that did not show a particular emphasis or stress. An example of these are the cases where the participant gave a one-word answer or mentioned both

positive and negative aspects in a response. Hypothetic examples using the “Geography” theme could be: “beach” or “the beaches here are beautiful, but the water is sometimes too cold.” The positive connotation was attributed to answers that showed some happiness, positive emotion or pride such as “beach!” or “you can find the most beautiful beaches here.” Lastly, the negative connotation referred to responses intending implicit or explicit negative aspects, for example, “there are better beaches out there” or “you cannot even find a clean spot to sit in those beaches.”

7.1.3 Combining Cluster Analysis and Interviews

The researcher exported the MAXQDA data sheet to SPSS v.21 with the total theme and connotations’ frequency for each participant. A Two-Steps Cluster Analysis was conducted for three reasons: guide the results discussion of the results -if any-, explore if the answers varied by community, and, as a method to validate the findings. The analysis in this chapter used the variable "Loíza's Cultures" as the "Evaluation Field," included the community where the participant lived (Study Sites) as categorical variables and the three connotations (Positive, Neutral and Negative) as continuous variables.

Initially, the number of clusters was automatically determined by the software -three- but the findings were too general. The research refers to these findings as Model 1. The results for Model 1 used the study sites as the reference to create the clusters because it considered it the "main predictor variable." After noticing this pattern, the researcher commanded the program to create four clusters in order to identify more subtle variations (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011). Once again, the program clustered

variables using the study sites as “main predictor variable”, these results are considered referred as Model 2’s findings.

Results

7.1.4 Sample

A total of twenty-five participants completed the interviews from which 60% identified as women. Most of the participants lived in Loíza-Pueblo (40%), while the rest resided in Villas de Loíza (24%), San Isidro (20%) and Medianía Alta (16%). The sample had low educational attainment, 48% had less than a High School Diploma (16% less than a 9th grade), and the other 48% had just a high school diploma, only one participant from Loíza-Pueblo had an Associate Degree. Approximately 36% had a household income lower than \$10,000, an additional 24% between \$10,000 - \$15,000 and another 20% from \$15,000 - \$25,000. Despite the low educational attainment, the other 20% of the sample had an HH income higher than \$25,000 (12% higher than \$35,000) which is above Loíza’s median income (\$18,000).

Participants grew up in different municipios but the place varied by study sites. For example, those from Villas de Loíza and San Isidro moved to the municipios during their adulthood, compared to those from the other two communities in Loíza. The main difference between those from Villas de Loíza is that 66% said they have lived in Loíza for at least 30 years, which is a large proportion of their lives considering that their average age was 50.8 years old. For their part, participants from San Isidro said they have lived in Canóvanas for less than 30 years, which is also meaningful considering

their average age of 43.4. Participants interviewed in Loíza-Pueblo were more settled since 90% reported they have lived in Loíza for a minimum of 40 years and, 80% said they grew up in the municipio (average of 63.9 years old). Lastly, Medianía Alta's participants lived in Loíza their entire lives (average age of 49 years old).

7.1.5 The Interview Results

Participants provided a total of two-hundred and five responses to the questions asking about the differences between Loíza and Canóvanas and, the first three things that came to their mind when hearing the name of the municipios. Approximately 62% of these responses referred to Loíza compared to 38% which talked about Canóvanas. Answers about Loíza were classified into five themes that emerged from the data, 35% made reference to "Loíza's Culture" or some of its cultural expressions, 27% to its "People," 20% its "Lack of Progress," 14% included "Physical Geography's" aspects and 4% "Other". The 38% answers referring to Canóvanas were classified into four categories, 32.5% mentioned something related to its "Landmark or Infrastructure," 32.5% to its "Progress and Governmental Aid," 16% "Former/Current Politicians or Governmental Services" and 19% "Other." Approximately 40% of all the answers were said with "Positive" connotation, 33% "Neutral" and 27% "Negative." The way participants talked about these themes (connotations) and the number of times they emerged in the conversation significantly varied by study sites. These differences are discussed further while describing the cluster analyses' results.

7.1.6 Informing Cluster Analysis with Qualitative Results

The Two-Step Cluster Analyses show that both models had a fair quality (See Figures 7.1 and 7.2). The first model had an ideal ratio size between the large and small cluster of 1.67, while the second of 2.50 which is acceptable. As mentioned before, both models exclusively used the variable "community" to generate the clusters. For the first model, SPSS automatically created three clusters and split Medianía Alta's answers into San Isidro's and Villas de Loíza's. The second model, where the researcher fixed the program to create four clusters, used the original study sites: Villas de Loíza (24%), Loíza Pueblo (40%) and San Isidro (20%) and Medianía Alta (16%). In general, the results show that participants used positive connotations approximately 3.24 times, compared to Neutral (2.60) and Negative (2.20) and made reference to Loíza's culture or mentioned a cultural trait an average of 1.75 times. Appendix M show that the quality of the models was not significantly affected by the number of clusters from one model to the other.

7.1.6.1 Villas de Loíza

Villas de Loíza's models show that this community was more likely to use Neutral connotations (4.17) when talking about the municipios. Participants from this Villas de Loíza used a total of 27 neutral connotations, which was considerably higher when compared to the participants from other communities. Approximately 48% of these answers were related to Canóvanas, 26% to Loíza's culture, 19% Loíza's people and 7% Loíza's Geography, especially the beach. Neutral aspects about Canóvanas

included "campo", agriculture, animals, basketball team, Native-Indians, government agencies, and shopping centers. Most of these were expressed using

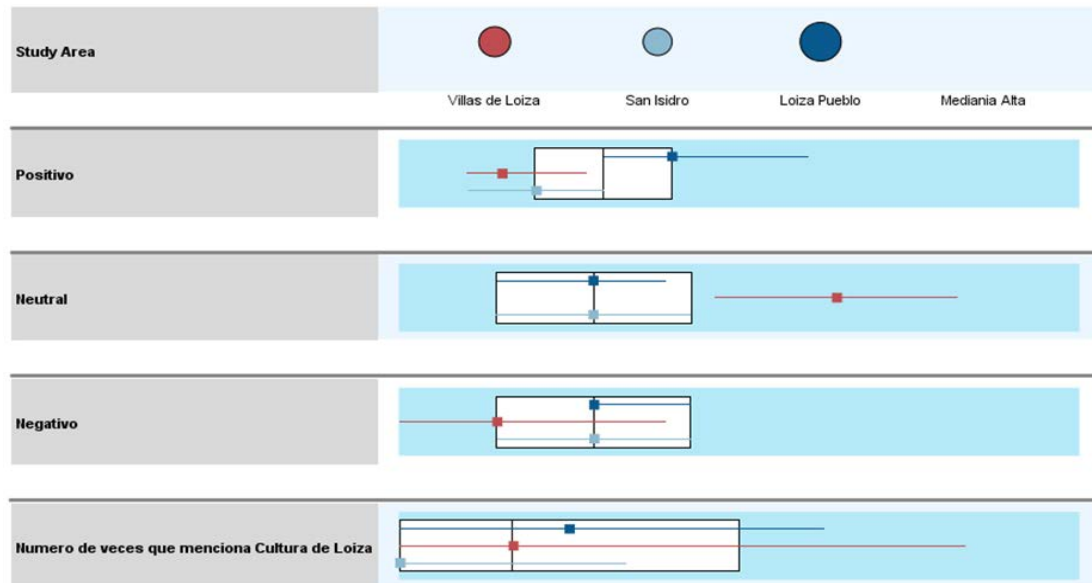


Figure 7.2 First Model: Medianía Alta answers were automatically split by SPSS into San Isidro and Villas de Loiza

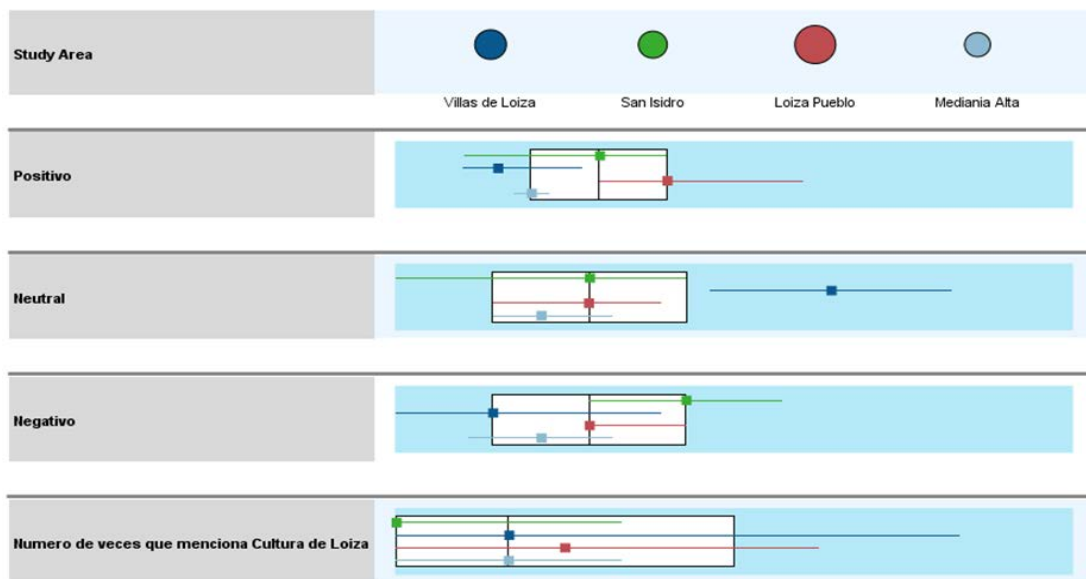


Figure 7.1 Second Model: SPSS fixed to create four clusters, show Medianía Alta's answers in a separate cluster (Note: the color-code is not the same used in Figure 7.1)

one word or a short phrase although the some of the longer answers made reference to the construction of Canóvanas as Taino.

“We are the Indians of Canóvanas! Need I say more?” (24) We have always identified as the “los Indios de Canóvanas” and because that is what it’s mentioned the most, that the first thing that comes to my mind. Because we are described as los Taínos, you know “los Indios de Canóvanas” P#26, 30

For their part, all the “Loíza’s People’s” answers mentioned the topic of skin color in the municipio. For example, Participant 64 said *“well, I have always think that it’s a matter of ethnic differences, because of the color” (20)* while Participant 9 added *“there are many people of color here that are not in Canóvanas” (P#9, 30)*. From the answers classified as “Loíza’s Culture” 28% only mentioned the word “culture” while others like Participant 9 added *“What happens is that Loíza’s culture is different from Canóvanas’... they use charcoal for cooking” (20)*, Participant 26 *“I think that Loíza’s culture it’s like more African, more Taino... I don’t know!” (18)* or, participant 52 # *“...well, before, you were able to had fun because they used to dance, they... roasted pigs, you know, they “jiba...”, the conga dance... “bomba” (74)*. The other answers pointed at specific cultural aspects such as *“alcapurrias”* -a specific type of fried food-, *“bomba”* -Afro-Puerto Rican dance-, *kioskos* -small businesses that sell fried food-, or *jueyes* -crabs.

While participants from Villas de Loíza used the highest proportion of neutral connotations, the models show they used considerably less positive (2.17) and negative (1.50) connotations compared to the other communities. Approximately 38% of the

positive aspects said by these participants made reference to Canóvanas. Among their answers they included the municipio's willingness to help its populations, especially its youth and the descriptions of its agriculture such as *"Canóvanas agriculture is very good because its "a campo", it as animals, horses... and all that"* (P#9, 26).

The rest of the answers with positive connotations were divided between Loíza's culture (54%) and Loíza's beaches (8%). Some of these words were classified as positive answers, and not neutral, because they were said with some emotions: *beach,! party!, it's culture"*. Some participants went beyond one-word answers and explained: *"...the people are very loving and hard-working"* (P#26, 18), *"Loíza's people have always characterized for being a town with a lot of tradition, lots of parties, they are party people! They call it "The Capital of Tradition!" and I don't think that is a problem for them"* (P#49, 22) and *"The first thing about Loíza is la bomba! "The Ayala Brothers" who have their group... the vejigantes (a specific type of carnival figures)... Loíza has a lot of culture! I even think it has more than Canóvanas"* (P#26, 18).

Five out of nine answers with negative connotation made reference to "Loíza's People." Four of those five responses were said by one participant, but she offered a diverse set of themes including: rejection from Loíza's administration to that community (Villas de Loíza), Loíza's bad environment for young people, the rejection Loíza has for outsiders and, their different accent. When referring to young people from Loíza, participant #1 said:

You can see there is more help in Canóvanas because their young people want to improve themselves... my daughter lives here in Loíza but

she can overcome life because she does not study here. She has never studied in Loíza because they (Loíza's students) don't like Villas de Loíza's students... they get them out! I had to take her to Carolina (municipio at the west of Loíza) because when she visited the school in Loíza they looked at her like... (pause) "she is not from here!" (row 28) There are some young people left behind because they are already living in that environment (bad) and they have gotten so comfortable that they stay there (row 38).

Also, participant #52 said: Well... people say: "*look "x" person was killed!*" or "*there was someone killed in Villas de Loíza*" and they say "*oh, that (person) must have been from Loíza...*" because poverty teaches you outlawry" (48).

7.1.6.2 Loíza-Pueblo

Similar to Villas de Loíza, the models for Loíza-Pueblo did not show significant differences between them. Both models (Model 1 and Model 2) showed that participants used neutral connotations approximately twice (2.10) when answering, a little less than the overall sample who used them an average of 2.6 times. Participants from this community used a total of 17 neutral connotations, 53% of them about Canóvanas, 6% about Loíza's people and 41% about Loíza's culture. Answers about Canóvanas could have been divided into two themes, "politics" and "infrastructure". For example, some participants mentioned Canóvanas' former mayor *Chemo Soto* who held the office for eleven years and, that the municipio was neutral when voting because they had elected mayors from the two main parties (Partido Popular Democratico PPD -Popular Democratic Party and Partido Nuevo Progresista PNP - New Progressive Party) compared to Loíza which has only elected PNP since the split in 1972. When talking about Canovana's infrastructure, participants mentioned words such as

shopping, pharmacy and hospital and bringing to the attention the absence of those in Loíza. Participants #223 and #52 provided an answer that could link these two themes: "Canóvanas has a little bit more economic growth than Loíza..." "Loíza would grow if the mayors do a bit more work"(60), "See, I've meet two or three mayors that have come here and any of them have done anything for the municipio! I don't know, but I don't see any of progress done" (91).

When considering the negative connotations, the models show that participants used them approximately 2.60 times compared to the overall sample (2.20). The negative connotations used (a total of 23) can be divided into three categories: "Canóvanas' Discrimination" (30%), "Loíza's Bad Economy" (30%) and, "Loíza is backward" (40%). Answers about Canóvanas varied from one word (e.g. *Discrimination* (P#206, 8), or one short phrase *"I had many feelings about/against Canóvanas"* (P#262, 62) to more specific sentences. Three of these longer answers were from participant #227 *"...they have always looked over our shoulder! You know, even when they are "negritos" (diminutive for Black)... there are some blanquitos too but they all have always looked at you like... did not finish the answer)* (42). In this answer, the diminutive for White (i.e. blanquitos) does not only mean that some people in Canovanas can be light-skinned but that some people in Canovanas have a high socio-economic status. Participant #263 said *"Canóvanas has never liked us, even when we give them all our money! The same with Rio Grande (municipio at the East of Loíza), we buy at their grocery stores because we don't have one here but they have never liked us"* (35) and participant #227 and #215:

There are good people in Canóvanas but many of them are arrogant! You can see the difference between groups of people, there is people here that have more money than other but, (small pause) anyone has really anything! But in Canóvanas they think they are *riquitos* (literal translation “little rich”) and they are sort of, but they do not share between them... and if they do is with hypocrisy. That’s the difference, here, everyone has the same even when some have more than others (P#227, 44)

They have never liked people from Loíza... actually, Villas de Loíza belongs to Loíza but uses Canóvanas as address and people who are from Villas de Loíza do not want to know anything about Loíza. You asked them about where they are from and they say “Canóvanas” but in reality they are from Loíza. That is like... the racism they have been taught... schooled... (P#215, 18)

Most of answers that had negative connotations were said with sentiments of sadness or nostalgia, for example participant #263 said *"we have lots of bereavement because many young people have died here in Loíza and they are the progress... that's partially why we don't have much progress... because many of our youth have died"* (31). Some answers related to Loíza's bad economy included words such as *marginalization, backwardness, or "poverty, in Loíza... a lot of poverty"* P#263 (31). Others added *"when you ask me about Loíza I just think "were are backward", because we don't have any progress... Loíza has to fight so it can get more advance"* (P#238, 41) and *"Loíza is a town of a great cultural trajectory but things that are stagnated... why? Because the administration has not had many initiatives"* (P#221, 43).

Lastly, 40% of the negative connotations used were related to aspects participants believe Loíza is missing. This kind of responses were mainly longer phrases *“the first thing that comes to my mind is sadness... that’s what I see in Loíza because I don’t see anything”* P#263 (27), *“I’ll answer by asking you “What’s here?” Well... not much! (37)... “We have to go out to the other municipios for everything”* (P#238, 39), *“we don’t even have a good road”* (P#229, 49), *“we have to go to Canóvanas to pay the electric bill, the water services, (pause) for everything, everything!”* (P#206, 28). Some participants went further and claimed that the reason why the municipio was in that bad condition was due to administrative negligence. For example, *“this municipio has passed from one hand to the other without much change”* (P#251, 40), *“there were a lot of business here! But there are none now, (pause) nothing, nothing, there is anything! We need a grocery store! That was one of the things the mayor said he was going to bring”* (P#263, 33) and, *“I don’t want to talk much about that because there are some political interests involved but we only have one pharmacy”* (P#262, 64).

Even with those negative aspects, the models show that Loíza-Pueblo used a higher number of positive connotations (4.70, 4.20) compared to the overall sample (3.01). Participants gave a total of 47 answers with positive connotations, from which 36% to Canóvanas, 11% to Loíza's beauty, 15% to Loíza's People and 38% were related to Loíza's Culture. Answers related to Canóvanas fit into three topics since 41% of those included the words "modern" or "progress" and the other 41% talked about its *good economy, shopping centers (Outlets and Sam's), movie theater, pharmacies, and services*. Only 18% of the answers provided different perspectives that included the

phrases "*you can see the work they are doing*" (P#215, 26) but even there they included arguments with critics about Loíza's administration.

Canóvanas is a fighter because people realized that their mayor was not doing anything and they changed it, something we have not learned. Our mayor is not doing anything, just negative things and we have kept him in power for twelve years! We are slaves of the same person, the same administration! Canóvanas realized the PPD was not doing anything and they changed to PNP and now they are saying that if they don't see their mayor is working they are going to change back to PPD. You, know, they see things clear but we are closed minded... even in that we are close as a *pueblo* because there are some people who say "he is family, I won't vote against him because it's my cousin" but no! If this person is not doing it well we have to kick him out! (P#227, row 46)

Answers about Loíza's beauty highlighted physical aspects, potential tourist attractions and the kindness of its people. For example, participants #227 and #206 said:

That cave (Cueva María de la Cruz) is not open because the administration has some trucks working over there but it's supposed to have businesses open! They should be selling our artisan's crafts there from Monday to Sunday! They should have our local food there! Do some advertisements, work with Puerto Rico's Office of Tourism! Here we have the second oldest church in the Island, let's exploit that potential! We have culture, this square plaza, isn't it beautiful? It's simple but it's pretty, they used to turn the water fountain's lights during the night, it had different colors and people came here to take pictures!" ... "Loíza is awesome! Everyone enjoys here! (P#227, 52)

We have been stagnated, I don't know if it's because of the mayor, but we have always been treated as last. We are a very pretty town, so pretty that if we put our stuff together we can be better than many others... because we are good people, here we have a lot of good people! Loíza is a prosperous place, what happens is that they have not learned how to work with it (P#206, 20)

The topic of Loiceños being good people emerged several times while participants described Loíza's population as *humble, full of love, united, humanitarian, talented, and welcoming*. Participant #262 shared "*I tell you... the people is better, they have like, more love, you know? More love, they are united* (62). Similarly, participant #215:

Sadly, Loíza faces discrimination... people think that everything that happens here is bad. There is a lot of good people, a lot of Puerto Rico's prominent people have come out of Loíza even when all the discrimination and marginalization that they (Puerto Rico's government and the media) put to us. I understand that some things that happen here are bad but, bad things happen everywhere, not only in one municipio! (P#215, 46)

About this, participant #227 and #250 reaffirmed:

... Problems exist but here you still see a neighbor bringing food to the other and that is not something that happens too often in other places... this town is a *town* because people are united as a fellowship (14). There are so many laws that they -Puerto Rico's government- make to help other counties that they don't do it for Loíza. I think this municipio has been too quiet... and that's why I don't blame people from outside, because everyone that comes here... they may come a bit worried or afraid but as soon as they know the *pueblo* they stay because they know people here are humble...

Problems are aside... drugs and murders are everywhere! But in here you can see kids running around until they want, 10 pm, 11 pm and anyone care... but now, see if that happens in the Metropolitan Area? Someone can murder them, rape them... you don't see that here! Here everyone protects everyone! Do you know what I mean? This is a *town*! I don't understand why they keep doing that to us -damaging Loíza's image-. (P#227, 30)

This is a small town... there are always situations between some sectors but everyone knows everybody and we help each other. There is always a little group that causes problems and have some internal wars but the Loiceño help each other. I can't say that Canóvanas has that because I don't go there, but at least, that something that characterizes Loíza... because everyone that comes from outside to do something here is well received. (P#250, 38)

Finally, the results show that participants from Loíza-Pueblo provided answers that involved Loíza's culture 0.51 times more than the other participants (1.0). All these results were said using positive connotations. Participants used longer answers to describe "Loíza's rich culture" (P#221, 43) and some of the aspects emphasized included its *history, food, music, traditions, and illustrious people*. Some went further and provided facts to support how Loíza's history and culture are different from other municipios while showing some pride and nostalgia to belong there.

We have the second church, well... for me, it's the first because they started the one in San Juan first but ours was the first one to be finished. We had the only *ancón* (boat -moved mostly by hand-) in Puerto Rico when there was no bridge in the entire 40-mile-long river (Rio Grande de Loíza).

That bridge was built in the 1980's but before that, the *ancón* was used to pass cars and a ton of other stuff from one side to the other! (P#227, 12)

The streets were full of people during the Fiestas de Santiago Apostol. It was great! Everything was local from Loíza, everyone put their little masks on and got out of their houses. There was *la loca*, which it's particularly from Loíza and the *vejigantes*! You could see everything, they made the procession for Santiago Apostol, El Nino, and the others... (P#263, 57)

This is my *barrio* and I like it because I grew up with all these people. There are some that left us too soon, other that moved out of Loíza or the country but my town is what identifies me wherever I go. I'm so proud of this culture! My mom and family live here... Here I met my children's mother... I feel proud of my municipio even when in other parts of PR we are discriminated against and marginalized, but I'm proud and everywhere I go I defend it and fight for it! (P#215, 40)

7.1.6.3 Medianía Alta and San Isidro

Model 1 clustered most of the participants from Medianía Alta and San Isidro together. In this model, participants were less likely to give answers with positive connotations (2.02) compared to the mean (3.1), equally likely to use neutral and negative connotations (2.0, 2.1), and less likely to mention cultural aspects when talking about Loíza (0.2) compared to the rest of the participants who were likely to name at least one. Model 2 separated the communities and showed some differences between the answers. In this, participants from Medianía Alta used the three connotations interchangeably in their answers which decreased the mean for all, the positive (2.2), neutral (1.51) and negative (1.51) connotations. Model 2 showed that

participants from this community mentioned approximately the same number of "Loíza's cultural" aspects than the overall mean (1.1). Differently, the cluster for San Isidro showed similar number of times than the average (3.1, 2.1) when using positive (3.2) and neutral (2.1) connotations, but a higher use of negative connotations (3.1) than the mean (2.1) and almost any use (.02) of the word "culture".

The results from Medianía Alta are different from the rest of the communities because participants frequently compared both municipios in the answers. For example, half of the answers coded as neutral for this community involved comparisons between the municipios: *"The color! They are "blanquitos", here we are "negritos" (P#322, 29)*

Canóvanas has always been better off compared to Loíza... they have their hippodrome, their things... they kind of let that go up their heads "oh, we have this and we have that" so, one day I answered one of them "yes, but we have the beach and you all have to come here!" (laughs) (P#333, 64)

The comparisons between the municipios continue as a pattern when using positive and negative connotations. Participants used a total of eight positive connotations in their answers and were classified into "Canóvanas," "Loíza's Culture," "People," and "Geography," however, every positive aspect they mentioned about Canóvanas was used to pinpoint negative aspects about Loíza such as *"they have more development, they have stores... Loíza does not have anything! No clothing stores, no shoes store, nothing! Loíza does not have anything!" (15), "at least they have a good mayor who has worked things out..."(P#314, 43), or "their mayor has done things, he has made many parks, many tracks, we only have one so far..." (P#322, 51).*

The comparisons continued when using negative connotations but this time using them against Canóvanas, especially bringing to the attention part of racial tensions that have existed between the municipios: *"Ha! You don't know... they used to say "there they are, those Blacks again" whenever we were going there" (P#322, 41), "The biggest difference is the racism Canóvanas has against Loíza!" (50) "Canóvanas is too abusive with Loíza! Abusive! I'm 62 years old and they have never liked that people from Loíza go over there to Canóvanas! What happens is that we are "negros atrevidos" (daring Blacks) and we keep going there anyway" (P#333, 60).*

San Isidro's neutral answers were classified into three small categories "Canóvanas" (46%), "Loíza's Geography" (36%) and "Loíza's People" (18%). All the answers about Loíza were one-word responses (e.g. "coast," "beach," "sand," "its people") except one who confirmed what participants from other Loíza communities said:

All the discrimination that has Canóvanas towards Loíza... yes because I have heard comments I don't like when people say "Blacks from Loíza this or that" I don't like that, because we are all the same race... and those who have said things like that are from this barrio (San Isidro)... Loíza is our neighbor! Do you know what I mean? And if people from Loíza come here they say "ha! That people from Loíza is here again! Get them out of here!" (P#150, 46)

Neutral responses about Canóvanas were not too diverse since 40% mentioned the *Hippodrome* assuring that *"everyone knows it, right?"* (P#156, 36), and 60% mentioned Canóvanas' *Indios*. Participants justified their answers adding "Canóvanas

also has its *Indios*, that it's Native Indians' tradition, its people..." (P#150, 26) and *"Canóvanas is known by its Indios, "Los Indios de Canóvanas" if you enter the plaza you will see they are everywhere there! I have a Native Indian in my house, a Canovanience -referring to her husband-" (P#156, 36)*

Despite this, participants from San Isidro mentioned positives aspects about Loíza's culture (46%) as well as of Canóvanas (46%). Answers about Canóvanas did not significantly vary from what other participants mentioned (e.i. progress, shopping centers, outlets, good roads) although two specific answers from participant #119 were different *"here is good for living"* and *"there is no discrimination here, thank God there is not discrimination"* (40). This response was comparing Canóvanas (San Isidro) with Loíza. The participant here was not supporting that people in San Isidro does not discriminate against others, but the contrary, it recognizes that Loíza is discriminated against and he (or San Isidro) does not suffer discrimination.

The answers about Loíza's cultural aspects differed from those mentioned in other communities because 67% of the answers were strictly related to food. For example, participant #156 answered *"Gastronomy in Loíza is good... they are known for that, their food, really good, the coconut! Son unos "pro..."! (they are champs)" (36) ... "crab patties! So good! Loíza's gastronomy is something else, the alcapurrias, the crab patties..." (P#156, 34) and #174 "the "kioskitos"! You feel real patriotic going there because they are like, very from the community" (32). Only one participant – married to a Loiceño- expanded more about Loíza's culture than the rest:*

I tell you, they are a culture of crabs, they dedicate themselves to fishing, their Taino culture, their African dances, everything, there is culture

there, there are many good things there but you have to dig in order to find them, dig deeply... (referring that the “good things” are hard to find) (P#101, 92)

Lastly, participants from this community used a highest number of negative connotations from the sample. These could be divided in three main groups “Canóvanas” (15%), “Impoverish Loíza” (31%) and “Loíza’s People” (46%). Participant #150 responses about Canóvanas made reference to Canóvanas *“disseverance, because they don’t get together/united to any town”* and *“Canóvanas discriminates against other towns, even when Carolina and Rio Grande have more because they help others but Canóvanas does not”* (46). “Impoverish Loíza” is titled this way because these comments seemed to blame external agents for Loíza’s poverty. For example Participant 119 says, *“The first three things that come to my mind when I think of Loíza? One, there is extreme poverty; two, skin color discrimination; and three... they suffer discrimination as for the jobs because there are no industries”* (P#119, 38), *“Loíza has never been treated with honesty! The government -Puerto Rico- has never been honest with Loíza, it’s been different with Canóvanas”* (P#119, 32). Notwithstanding, comments about Loíza’s population were said with negative connotations that blamed them. An example was shown in the previous quote from Participant #101 who suggested that good people were hard to find in Loíza, but later, she added: *“Ha! Police enter there a lot, there are “puntos por donde quiera” (drugs are sold everywhere) uncivilized people! (46), “they speak weird, different, you will notice it” (90), and*

There is a lot of people there that are mediocre... People without resources, no schooling, no variety... and that is not good! They should be helped! Why? Because there are a lot of illiterate, they don't know what they want; they don't even understand themselves (P101, 42)

These comments were said in a contemptuous way. The researcher found interesting that this participant was a very dark-skinned woman who constantly referred to Loiceños as “those Blacks.” It's difficult to tell the reasons why she referred to people from Loíza in that way but through the interview she seemed to be familiarized with the municipio. She gave the name of her husband to the researcher to “name him” in case she felt threaten during the data collection and seemed genuinely concerned that the researcher had to go to Loíza (San Isidro was the second community visited, after Villas de Loíza).

Although most of these negative comments were mentioned by that one participant (out of the five in San Isidro), the other two also commented “*people in Loíza... they are always watching who goes there, who enters or passes thru*” (P#174, 32), and

The main difference between Canóvanas and Loíza is due to their color! Their color is a bit darker than... they are blacker than other towns... and their traditions... The first thing about Loíza is their crime... there is a lot of crime because they feel helpless, there is no help from the government or anyone... that's sad because there are a lot of sick young people (Interviewer: sick? What do they have?) I read some studies, there is syphilis, chlamydia, (I: sexually transmitted diseases?) Yes, that's why Ricky Martin made that school there (Centro Tau), because of the *trata humana* -human trafficking- that exists there...” (P#150, 48).

Main Findings and Conclusions

The Two-Step Cluster Analysis models examined differences in how participants used positive, neutral and negative connotations. The results showed that the employment of connotations varied by study sites and that their analysis benefited the report of interviews' findings. The description of the qualitative data confirmed that, in fact, participants adopted connotations differently even when talking about the same themes. For example, participants from Villas de Loíza used more neutral connotations and one-word answers than the other communities. Most of these respondents alluded to very general aspects such as “agriculture,” “Native Indians,” “basketball team,” and “shopping centers” when referring to Canóvanas or, “culture” “alcapurrias,” “bomba,” “kioskos”- when talking about Loíza. Even when most of these answers were said in a neutral tone, they demonstrate participants just had a basic knowledge of the municipio. Similarly, participants from San Isidro used neutral connotations and general answers to refer to both municipios. Neutral aspects about Canóvanas mainly described it as a Native Indian’s municipio, while those about Loíza mentioned the beach. In this community, positive aspects about Canóvanas included the description of its progress or infrastructure while those about Loíza focused on its culture but mainly in its cuisine expertise.

Participants from Medianía Alta used connotations interchangeably because they tended to compare Canóvanas’ neutral and positive aspects to Loíza’s neutral and negative’s ones. However, participants from Medianía Alta and Loíza-Pueblo expanded on specific topics about Loíza such as discrimination -mostly racial-, unfulfilled political campaign promises and lack of progress. Participants from both

communities stretched these topics because Loíza is geographically isolated, does not have reliable public transportation, and is lacking essential services and stores for its population. As an illustration, Loíza meets all the characteristics of a food desert, and as mentioned by several participants in the rest of the interview, its emergency room is not equipped with an ambulance, works until 11 pm and has been threatened with suspensions because it does not meet the minimum infrastructural requirements to receive patients. Despite this, participants from Loíza-Pueblo used the largest amount of positive connotations, and the negative aspects were said with a mix of nostalgia and frustration. Participants from Loíza-Pueblo hold accountable former administrations for the lack of progress and describe Loíza as a geographically and socially beautiful.

Two topics about Canóvanas were discussed across the communities, -“Native Indians” and “Prosperity”- while three topics constantly emerged about Loíza -“Lack of Progress,” “Discrimination,” and “Criminality”-. Most references about Canóvanas were said employing neutral or positive connotations except for participants who demanded discrimination towards Loíza and its population. Additionally, most of the answers provided by participants -other than Loíza-Pueblo- used neutral or negative connotations when talking about Loíza, except when mentioning cultural aspects. “Lack of Progress” was the topic most of the communities agreed on but participants from Villas de Loíza and San Isidro talk about it in a more general way, while those from Loíza-Pueblo and Medianía Alta agreed that part of the economic stagnation was due to mayors’ lack of proposals to develop the municipio economically. “Discrimination” was also approached differently by communities. In Villas de Loíza, participants referred more to Loíza’s dark-skinned population while Medianía Alta

compared Canóvanas and Loíza's population's skin tone. However, on their part, Loíza-Pueblo asserted that Canóvanas discriminated against the municipio and San Isidro confirmed Loíza-Pueblo's claims. Lastly, participants from Villas de Loíza and San Isidro were more likely to attribute high criminality to how violent Loíza's population was. For its part, those from Loíza-Pueblo supported that criminality in Loíza is not much different from what happens in other municipios and its people help each other and always take care of their neighbors.

7.1.7 Differences in constructing Loíza as a "place of culture"

The findings discussed in this chapter offer insights on how Loíza and Canóvanas are constructed as places because it considers the first three thoughts that came to participant's mind after hearing the municipios names. Listing what comes to someone's mind is an elementary cognitive process that produces simple results on how people organize and retrieve information, especially when they are conscious of what they are responding (Hoppe and Kusterer, 2011). Findings show that "Loíza's culture" was always present -neutral/ positive- even when the way participants alluded to it changed by communities. The differences among study sites suggest that the thought of Loíza varied between native Loiceños, non-native Loiceños (Villas de Loíza) and participants from San Isidro. The study will now refer to these groups as "native Loiceños" and "outsiders" (Villas de Loíza and San Isidro).

One interpretation of the results proposes that the difference in construction of Loíza as "place with a lot of culture" is due to the degree of knowledge and the first-hand interactions participants had with Loíza. Education added to with the first-hand

experience enhance knowledge and decreases the stereotypes (Foley and Kranz, 1981) people create around a place. In the case of Loíza, native Loiceños' first-hand experience allowed them to explain in more detail the cultural aspects, compared to outsiders who used superficial cultural traits. Part of the lack of attachment that participants from Villas de Loíza have with Loíza as home could be due to the distance between the community and the rest of the municipio, the lack of need to visit el pueblo to get services, the use of Canóvanas as municipio in their postal address, and the nearness and convenience of services and stores that Canóvanas offers. However, the disengagement of Loíza as their hometown, even when they have lived there for over thirty years, happens also because when they *do* visit el pueblo, they experience Loíza as a touristy place -e.g. Pinones- or they engage in touristy activities -e.g. patronal fest, going to the beach- and, these maintain the stereotype they already have (Dijksterhuis et al., 1999).

There is a difference between experiencing the municipio as a tourist or as a local and that is mainly due to the municipios' distinctions and how they have been constructed by the government and the IPC. In Puerto Rico, the 78 municipios have all the elements necessary to underline values that differentiate one from the rest, so their populations can develop a local identity. Each municipio has its own flags, coat of arms, anthem, a specific history, important character's biographies, a particular food, nicknames, demonym, patronal fests and other cultural distinctiveness like sports teams. The findings suggest outsiders described Loíza in the same way the government has promoted the touristy Loíza (bomba dancers, kiosks selling fried-food, exotic Afro-Puerto Ricans, beach) and the media has portrayed the "Black-Loíza" (poor, dangerous,

high rates of crime). Different from this, the experience of native Loiceños bring an insiders' perspective on specific cultural aspects, history facts, community life and reasons why the town suffers from lack of economic development.

7.1.8 The place of “Place” when talking about Loíza

This study contributes to the understanding of the role of places in the Identity Process Theory presenting two scenarios, one for outsiders and one for the native-Loiceños. In the first example, "threat to identity" could be considered as the belief of being perceived as they were discriminating against Loíza and its people, and in the second case, the belief that they were going to be discriminated for being from Loíza. In both scenarios participants used the construction of Loíza as “a town with a lot of culture” to cope with the threat of portraying themselves as a “bad person” -for saying something that is not socially desirable about the municipio or, just by living in there-.

The study concludes that participants reaffirmed their “otherness” or “pride” because of the notable dichotomies that existed between “us” and “them” when they talked about Loíza. Participants considered “outsiders” often chose non-inclusive phrases such as “*they use charcoal* (P#9, 20), “*the people are very loving and hard-working... they have a lot of culture*” (P#26, 18), “*Loíza’s people...*” “*...they are party people...*” (P#49, 22) “*Loíza's rich culture*” (P#221, 43), “*...they are known for that...*” (P#156, 36), while over 50% of answers from native-Loiceños used at least one possessive pronoun or personification when talking about Loíza or its culture (e.g. “*the culture of ours*” (P#206, 26), “*we are a pueblo*” (P#227, 12), “*the church we have*” (P#262, 57, “*our culture*” (P#322, 29).

The image of Loíza has been constructed for external agents -government and media- with so many positive and negative aspects that these have become conflicting. These imposed constructions of Loíza added to the lack -or abundance- of first-hand experiences led the participants to evaluate their identity as Loiceños (Loíza-Pueblo), Canovanienses (San Isidro) or Mixed (Villas de Loíza, Medianía Alta) and reaffirm their “otherness” (San Isidro, Villas de Loíza) or their “pride” (Loíza-Pueblo) in relation to it. In other words, the constructions of Loíza added to not experiencing Loíza as “home” have made participants from San Isidro and Villas de Loíza to disconnect themselves from the municipio and establish a difference between them and Loíza’s population. For their part, participants from Loíza have used the construction of Loíza to increase their identity as Loiceños and use the opportunity to talk about the municipio to highlight positive aspects that go against the popular narratives the general Puerto Rican population hear about Loíza.

It is essential to recognize how important the narratives that the governments create around places are and, how they can affect the populations who live in them. In this case, the construction of Loíza as an exotic municipio with “a lot of culture” implies the understanding of Loíza as foreign and makes difficult for non-native-Loiceños to perceive “Loíza’s culture” as just “Puerto Rican culture.” The construction of Loíza as foreign also affects the interest of those who moved to Loíza later-in-life because they don’t fully experience Loíza as their home and do not use inclusive language such as referring to “us” when talking about Loiceños or “ours” when talking about Loíza’s culture. For its part, the construction of Loíza as a dangerous place by the media has

contributed to the social exclusion of Loíza from the general Puerto Rican who limits its visits to the touristy areas and loses interests in visiting other communities.

Now, in this case race also plays an important aspect of how Loíza is constructed and exacerbates the problem of perceiving the municipio as foreign. As discussed in the previous chapters, the general believe of Puerto Rico as “Trigueños” or “mixed” race has created the false idea of Puerto Rican as not “Black” enough compared to other Caribbean countries. Thus, the construction of Loíza as Black feeds into the understanding of foreign contributes to the self-exclusion of non-native Loiceños because of their apparent phenotypical differences and, continue promoting the denial of Puerto Ricanness to native-Loízens.

Chapter 8: Analysis and Conclusions

Introduction

This research shows that places can be more than passive agents in the process of creating identity, especially when they are constructed by outside entities, and not necessarily the individual who lived in them. The research focused on how the government creates and assigns cultural attributes to places and, how these actions influence their populations' identity dimensions. Chapter 5 focused on the understanding of Puerto Rico as a racially mixed country and how the cultural understanding of the concept affected racial identification in the US Census. Chapter 6 discussed the official construction of Puerto Rico as the “Home of Taínos” and the “Land of El Jíbaro” and these significantly informed participants' selection of a representative racial category. Lastly, Chapter 7 chose Loíza, a county denominated as the Capital of Tradition, which has been constructed as Black and exotic by the government but labeled as dangerous by the media. The chapter discussed how these conflicting constructions influence their populations' identity at county level and their identification or disassociation with the town.

The study's primary goal was to examine the role of places in identity creation and contribute with its findings to expansion of Identity Process Theory. This chapter focuses on how the cases of Puerto Rico and Loíza as constructed places, add to the IPT theoretical framework and its understanding of places as manifestations of the self.

The following sections discuss four observations that this research makes about the IPT and its stances about people-places relationships.

Contributions to the Identity Process Theory Framework

8.1.1 There is no “culture” without a place where it originated

The study approaches the understanding of “places,” “countries,” and “cultures” from the Constructivist Paradigm, arguing that the history and values of geopolitical borders revolve around a arbitrarily selected set of beliefs. It is logical to think that when we talk about countries, we talk about places because people attribute meanings to the land and cherish memories of events they have lived there. Christou (2006) stated that “places cannot be understood outside of a cultural context” (p.31) but these findings does not completely agree with this position. It is true that culture is part of those meanings we attribute to the geopolitical borders, but even when the idea created about a country is based on what has been learned about its culture, the construction of culture itself is intrinsically related to the construction of the place to which that culture belongs. In other words, we cannot talk about "culture" without referring to the country or region where originated. Relating this to the finding, in Chapter 5, participants’ responded that someone’s “race” meant her/his culture. This was related in part to one of Puerto Rico’s main cultural value that supports that Puerto Rico is "the product of a mix of races.” Also, in Chapter 7, when participants answered that the first thought that came to their minds when they heard Loíza, was “its culture”, in part because of all the cultural aspects they have heard Loíza has.

8.1.2 Narratives of race and ethnicity can be told through the physical creation of places

As mention before, this study intends to further develop the IPT demonstrating that the places can actively influence identity even when the population who lives in them did not take part in their creation. The results discussed in Chapter 5 and 6 have suggested that the government's version of the Puerto Rican history has significantly impacted how participants constructed their idea of race in Puerto Rico and which ethnic/racial group they felt represented them the best. This study also argues that history accompanied by designation of places to certain cultural groups can influence the way the population constructs a country, county or community.



Figure 8.1 Monuments to Taínos at official entrance in Canóvanas and its main square (plaza)

In Chapter 7, participants were very likely to answer “*Indios*” when they were asked about Canóvanas and, one of the reasons was explained by Participant #156: “*Canóvanas is known by its Indios, “Los Indios de Canóvanas” if you enter the plaza you will see they are everywhere there!...*” (36). Canóvanas has many aspects that identify the municipio with the group; for example, its name refers to Canovanax, the region’s Taíno chief, its basketball team (“*Los Indios de Canóvanas*”) that were

national champions several times before the split and in 1980's, after the split Canóvanas' official shield as a basketball basket and, a Corn Festival that has been celebrated a few times. However, a compelling reminder of the municipio's slogan is the creation of monuments both in in the municipio, and on Road #3 (See Figure 8.1). This is an example of how the government influence ethnic, racial, and national identities, through the creation of spaces that support the narratives they create about a place.

8.1.3 Manifestations of ID in the place can also be replications of narratives

Observations of Puerto Rico's and Loíza's street artwork demonstrate the IPT concept of places as manifestations of identity (Hauge, 2007). Figure 8.2 and Figure 8.3 show how some Loíza's artists incorporate part of their national and municipio's identity dimensions into the physical environment. The figures also portray how the construction of Loíza as "municipio with a lot of culture" overlaps with the ethnic,



Figure 8.2 Street Art somewhere in Medianía Baja (Summer 2016)

racial and national identity dimension. In Figure 8.2 from left to right, can see a drawing of a dark-skinned person playing *conga* drums, which may represent the *bomba* music style or Loíza's musical aspect. To the right of the man playing the drums, is a Puerto Rican flag with a light-blue triangle which may or may not present a political statement in favor of the Island's independence. At the right of the flag, is a *vejigante*'s mask which is a popular character in the patronal festival of some municipios. The masks featured in the drawing shows Loíza's particular mask because of the materials (coconut) and style (e.g. eyes and nose). The drawing explicitly refers to Loíza festivities because the *vejigante*'s dress uses red, yellow and green, which Loíza's flag colors.

As commonly known, the use of flags or its colors are always valuable symbols of identity. In this case, their incorporation in the drawings show the manifestation of national and municipio's pride. It is interesting to notice how Loiceños take ownership of both the national and municipio flags and openly display both identity dimensions.



Figure 8.3 Taíno symbols somewhere in Rd #187

The phenomenon of featuring the municipio's and Puerto Rican flags is fairly common in Loíza but is not always present in other municipios' street art. This comparison is

compelling when considering Chapter's 7 discussion on how outsiders were inclined to construct Loíza as foreign, because Loiceños tend to display strong national pride.

The red area with a small yellow drawing and, the yellow frame that has a face matches the order of the first two-thirds of Loíza's flag. It is not obvious if that was the artist's intension or if it was just a coincidence but the yellow drawing in the red area is Loíza's Catholic church's bell, which is drawn in the same way it appears on the flag. It is interesting to see that the face in the yellow frame is a dark-skinned person with green eyes and straight hair. Its interpretation is debatable. First, that it represents a "Native Indian" or second, he is a "Puerto Rican" product of the racial/ethnic mix because of his European-like eye color, African or Native Indian skin tone, wide nose, big lips and Native Indian hair texture. These interpretations make us speculate about the artist's reasons behind the selection of those phenotypical characteristics. For example, Why not drawing him with a curly hair texture or a dark eye color? Both explanations involve the whitening reflected on Chapter 5 where participants selected the middle point in the scale or said "trigueños" and, in Chapter 6 where they were more likely to attribute more cultural contributions to Native Indians than to any other group.

It is important to make a distinction between the considerations of this building as 'space' or a 'place' because there is a generalization that street artists often select abandoned spaces for their art. Although this physical structure is certainly an abandoned space and it may be hard to learn about its legal ownership, this structure and its surroundings are considered "a place" for some young people that live in the area. I actually met with one of the artists outside the building while he was talking to

two other young men, listening music and braiding their hair in chairs under a tree, which suggests they consider it a “place,” maybe even theirs



Figure 8.4 “Don’t let your future be black...” Street art in Rd #187

Figures 8.3 and 8.4 can also be considered examples of the manifestation of racial/ethnic identity expressed in the space. These images confirm a previous statement supporting artists’ representations of Loíza as Taíno. In Figure 8.3 the artist used Taínos hieroglyphics in which were replicated the Taíno’s sun (larger drawing), a baby in a blanket (at the sun’s left side) the Puerto Ricos native’s frog, el coqui (under the Taíno sun) and a Taíno's spirit, a *cemí* up in the roof’s wall (See Figure 8.4). The researcher does not know if the same artist drew the drawings of Native's hieroglyphics, but the three figures are just an example of street art that portrays Loíza as a Native Indian place. As explained in Chapter 5 and 6, the constructions of Loíza as Taíno, usually uses its name, which comes from the regional Taíno chief “Yuisa”, and the hieroglyphics found in Maria de la Cruz's cave as justifications. Something interesting in Figure 8.4 is the text that translates “Don’t let your future to be Black, color it.” In

an informal interview with the artist, he said he had received many critics from researchers and outsiders but, he claims he did not write it with any racial connotation in mind, just as a motivational phrase for Loíza's youth. The same phrase is written in the building's front part (shown in Figure 8.3).

In general, the drawings seem to reflect the artists' national or racial identity but this study argues that this is just partially correct statement. Although it is true that the drawings show manifestation of national and county pride (e.g. Puerto Rican flag, Loíza's colors in the *vejigante*'s dress), behind these demonstrations of identity exist the same national and racial discourses promoted by the government. In other words, the study supports that these drawings do not "manifest" but "replicate" the arguments said about Puerto Rico and Loíza. The first two drawings support the results on how some participants constructed Loíza as a place with a lot of culture, music, bomba, and vejigantes (Chapter 7). The face is another example of the adoption of the government's narrative of Puerto Rico as a racially mixed country (or Taínos' home), or Loíza as a previous Native Indian's settlement.

8.1.4 Places as constructed are used as motivational principles

The IPC holds that when individuals feel their perceived centrality is being threaten, people revert to motivational principles in their attempt to cope with the threat. This study considers five motivational capacities described by the IPT: distinctiveness, belonging, self-esteem, continuity, and self-efficacy (Bardi et al., 2004), although other researchers that work with the theory include more or exclude some. When referring to the IPT stands about physical environments, it supports that places help prompting

introspective processes to make sense of personal and social relations. In this way, the IPT suggests that people-place dynamics and the motivational principles can influence perceived centrality in two ways (Dixon et al. 2014; Hauge, 2007). One, when the individual intentionally uses physical environments to display her/his identity, and two, when the person talks about the place. In both cases, “places” are considered passive agents and supporters of the identity dimension.

This research finds that Figure 8.5 can be used as an appropriate example to illustrate the motivational principle of “distinctiveness”. This principle is mostly understood as an expression of identity and is commonly explained by the display of flags in ethnic communities. Figure 8.4 shows the Ayala’s Brothers Cultural Center, which is also in their houses’ front-yard¹. The Ayala’s family is famous for their bomba music and dance groups. The family gained respect in the industry and even today many associate the last name directly with Loíza and their performance. Their front-yard shown in Figure 8.5 is a place your eyes could not miss when driving through the #187 road in Medianía Alta because how different it was from other neighbors or other little businesses. This front-yard does not only show that the cultural center and store are there, but it also displays essential elements of Loíza’s patronal festivities. The house’s structure represents a Jíbaro’s house made of wood and zinc sheets. Its physical structure is a symbol of national identity, but other signs of this identity dimension are

¹ The picture was taken in 2016, before Hurricane Maria (2017) which destroyed the Center. Some news affirmed the Ayala family finished the construction of the new structure, but the researcher has not being able to find a recent picture.

the dresses with the Puerto Rican flag in display and the vejigantes' masks and costumes painted with the Loíza's flag colors.



Figure 8.5 The Ayala's Siblings Cultural Center in Medianía Alta, Loíza (July of 2015)

For its part, the interviewees' responses discussed in Chapter 7 incorporated identification of how participants used "Loíza" to maintain perceived centrality through the motivational principles. Participants from Loíza-Pueblo and Medianía Alta were likely to exhibit at least one of the motivational principles when talking about the municipio. Participant #215's quote is an example of how he used the idea, meanings, and memories -of his community in Loíza- to establish his belonging, self-esteem, continuity, and self-efficacy to both places.

This is my *barrio* and I like it because I grew up with all these people. There are some that left us too soon, other that moved out of Loíza or the country but my town is what identifies me wherever I go. I'm so proud of this culture! Here I met my children's mother, my mom and family live here... I feel proud of my municipio even when in other parts of PR we are discriminated against and marginalized, but I'm proud and everywhere I go I defend it and fight for it! (P#215, 40)

In this case, the participant ascertains that he “belongs” to the community based on two statements, that others can certify he has grown old there with them and, that he has witnessed the barrios demographic changes through the years. For its part, the quote also shows that the perceived centrality of his municipio's identity is supported by “self-esteem” because he says he feels proud of the municipio and its culture even when he is aware of how outsiders think about Loíza. The motivational principle of “continuity” is not as evident as the other, but his tone implies that he has a strong connection with Loíza and his barrio, that it has increased over the time and that it is not expected to decrease, at least any time soon. The community and the municipio also seem to support his perceived centrality through “self-efficacy” because his expression “*this is my barrio*” suggests he feels comfortable being who he is there and that the rest of the community values his persona and how he expresses himself. Finally, the quote also demonstrates how he uses the four motivational principles to cope (“*defend it, fight for it!*”) with the threat of “*being discriminated and marginalized*” because he is from Loíza.

This discussion supports the IPT stances of places and how they are used as part of motivational principles to reinforce perceived centrality. In these examples, the

display outside the Ayala's Center and the verbal expression of Loíza suggest that the municipio has been used as the motivation to manifest ethnic and municipio's identity. However, similar to the street art, what seems to be catalyzing these manifestations are the narratives created about Loíza. In the case of the Ayala's Cultural Center, the display of the vejigantes and the drawing of a woman dancing bomba seems to be limiting the definition of "culture" to what they have chosen to highlight.

For its part, the selection of the colors in the vejigantes' dresses and masks could have been any others, perhaps brighter or more colorful. Yet, the coordination of color with the Loíza's and Puerto Rican's flags suggested they were purposefully selected to send a message saying "this culture we are displaying is Loíza's culture." The interpretation for selecting the Puerto Rican flag is more complicated but, in general, it should have at least three purposes: displaying national pride, saying "Loíza's culture" is "Puerto Rican culture" and/or as a business strategy to call the attention of local or international tourist. In any of the cases, what the Center chose to define as culture is very well related to the constructions external agents have promoted about Loíza. Displaying only vejigantes and someone dancing bomba, although related to what the Family Ayala is known of, quickly inform outsiders that pass by the road #187 and have as an effect the confirmation of the stereotypes they already have about Loíza, "a place where people dances bomba."

Fitting the Findings into the Proposed Identity Process Theory Framework

This study uses the Constructive Paradigm to ascertain that the ethnic, national and racial identity dimensions are a reflection of the agreement that the population has

had with the narratives the government has taught about the Island. The results suggest that the structure of beliefs, promoted by the government, about Puerto Rico as a “racially diverse country,” “home of Taínos” and “Land of the El Jíbaro,” as well as Loíza been “The Capital of Tradition” has impacted participants’ identity and significantly influenced in their responses. The results discussed above agree with the original IPT stances on people-place relationships. However, the research also presents four observations that can expand the IPT viewpoints about places (See Appendix N for a summary). Additionally, Appendixes O, P and Q show how the results for Chapter 5, 6 and 7 fit into the IPT Framework (p.30) depending on the scenario and construction of place in each case.

8.1.5 The meaning of place can be revisited when any identity dimension is under threat

The first contribution this research makes to the IPT is that the meaning of places are not just revisited by individuals when physical environments are under threat (Dixon et al., 2014) but also when other identity dimensions feel under threat. The understanding of places as strategies to cope with threats to different identity dimensions was present in the all scenarios discussed.

In Chapter 5, participants’ racial identity as “not Black” was threatened when they realized the questionnaire did not include choices that went along with their meaning of “race.” This is considered a threat because many participants felt stressed about how they had to answer the question. They often asked the researcher for her opinion even when she always mentioned there was not a correct or incorrect answer

and that they were free to select the category they felt represented them the best. This answer was not enough to calm some participants, who would asked more than once.

In Chapter 6, the threat was more subtle because participants did not show any sign of unsureness. Despite the lack of verbal or non-verbal expressions, most of the answers suggest participants wanted to make sure the researcher understood that they were “100% Puerto Ricans” (P#227). In this case, many of the answers were related to the history learned at school, but most of them were associated to the idea of how Taínos and Jíbaros were from Puerto Rico, like them (participants), while the other groups arrived (Spaniards) or were brought (Africans) to the Island. The results also showed that the "place" from where participants proceeded (e.g., specific municipio or region like "the Central area") was key to the selection of a representative of the self. The study interpreted participants' repetition and reaffirmation as a coping strategy to a perceived threat if they believed their answers would not be able to reflect their strong national/ethnic identity.

Lastly, the results for Chapter 7 suggested that participants' perceived threat varied by study site and municipio of origin. In the case of the participants defined as “outsiders,” the threat seemed to be their need to prove neutrality or not being perceived as if they were saying something negative about Loíza. For their part, those defined as "native-Loiceños" perceived a threat to their municipio's identity dimension because they did not want people to think of Loíza as a dangerous place to live or visit.

8.1.6 Places influence ID even when they are created by external agents

The second observation to the IPT supported by the results is that places can influence identity even when the population who live in them did not take part in their construction. In Appendixes O, P and Q this statement is portrayed under “individual and personal values” because the IPT supports that culture informs the values that maintain “centrality.” The findings support that the construction of places created by the government played different roles in the evaluation process and that it varied depending on the scenario.

In Chapter 5, “place” referred to Puerto Rico and its construction as a “racially mix country” because this understanding supported their perceived centrality as “not Blacks.” The diagram in Appendix O shows that participants evaluated the definition they knew of race “as the culture, country of birth and parent’s culture and country of birth” before they selected an answer. In this case, the evaluation of the definitions of “race” and, the construction of “Puerto Rico” were just partially helpful for participants because they were not congruent with the racial categories provided by the questionnaire. After evaluating these meanings, the participants used the choices provided to renegotiate their definition of “race.” This renegotiation was put under “coping strategies” because of the threat that represented by the selection of one of the categories.

For its part, in Chapter 6 the construction of Puerto Rico as “Borinquen” (Taínos’ name for Puerto Rico), Taíno’s home and “La Tierra del Jíbaro” (Jíbaro’s Land”) seemed to significantly influence participants’ selection of a racial/ethnic group

as the first representative of themselves. In this occasion, participants evaluated the perceived centrality of their national and ethnic identities using what they learned at school. At some point, the chapter questioned if it was “history” and not “place” what was determining participant’s selection of a representative, but at the end, it concluded that history was only partially responsible for the selection. The results show that the history learned through the Department of Education was used to construct Puerto Rico has the “home” of two of the groups (Native Indians and Jíbaros) and, it was that understanding of the Island that was prompting participants to prefer those two groups over the others. In this chapter, participants coped with the threat of not being considered enough Puerto Ricans, by re-affirming their national and ethnic identities and informing themselves with their conclusions from the construction of Puerto Rico.

Lastly, in Chapter 7 both type of participants -“outsiders” and “native-Loiceños”- used the same construction of Loíza as a “municipio with a lot of culture” when responding to the first three things that came to their mind when they heard the municipio’s name “Loíza”. In this case, the threat of “been mistaken” made outsiders and native-Loiceños to evaluate their experiences and knowledge about the municipio, before answering. In the case of those classified as “outsiders” they seemed to be concerned about what the interviewer would thought if they saying something negative or discriminatory about the municipio or its population, while in the case of “natives” they were worried because they wanted to cause a good impression of Loiza and its population in front of the researcher. To cope with the threat of being considered as a slanderer, outsiders preferred the use of one-word and neutral tone responses. Their answers were also informed by the limited encounters they have had when they visiting

the municipio. These superficial experiences altogether with what they have heard in the media have contributed to the construction of Loíza as a tourist place they could visit when they want to get out of the routine but, also as a place where they have to be cautious. For their part, native-Loiceños were more likely to give longer explanations with positive connotations to cope with the threat of being pre-judged by what they describe as, an untruthful portrayal of Loíza. The study noticed that native-Loiceños tended to personify Loíza and often included themselves in its description. Their longer answers were not only the product of first-hand everyday-knowledge but also a deeper understanding of the municipio's political and economic situation and pride in referring to the municipio as their home.

8.1.7 Place influences culture, therefore it is partially responsible of social context

The IPT suggests that social representations that threaten identity vary by culture. However, it does not consider how the construction of a place affects the culture where the individual is. This is why the third commentary of this study to the IPT argues that “social context” and “culture” are intrinsically tied to the narrative created around places. For example the construction or understanding of United States as a Christian country affects the social climate for other religions and may cause a particular group (e.g. Muslims) living in the United States feel that its religious identity is under a threat.

Appendixes O, P and Q identify the influence that the construction of a place has on “social representation” and put it on top of “threat” because these understandings indirectly affect social context. In Chapter 5, the idea of Puerto Rico as a “racially

diverse country” but that “it is not necessarily Black” created a “White” representation of culture in which the Puerto Rican society give more value to European-like phenotypical characteristics. The study considers that this established context triggered the participants' perception of a threat because their "perceived centrality" is based on the understanding that they are not “Black.” For those who answered “White” the threat was realizing they did not fit into the categories given and, that even when they could not be considered “White” in another social context, such as in the US, in Puerto Rico they were not Black-enough to respond “Black.” For their part, those who answered “Black” because they felt that “White” was less fitting for them, found an opportunity in the skin color category “Trigueño” to easier their acceptance of being Black.

In Chapter 6, the results suggest that the construction of Puerto Rico as the home of the Taínos and Jíbaros, have created an established a social context that promotes the romanticization of the Native Indian group and an overall national pride when someone is called a “Jíbaro”. This is why the possibility of not being considered “Puerto Rican enough” was classified as a threat because participants resisted the perceived threat by reaffirming ethnic/racial identities based on what they learned these groups were. In Chapter 7, the general notion of Loíza as a “place with a lot of culture” has contributed to the social representation of the municipio as an exotic place while the media portrayal of Loíza as a place with high criminality has set an image of it as a dangerous place. In this way, these two contradictory images of municipio represented a threat for “outsiders” when trying to be perceived as neutrals, and caused a threat to native-Loiceños when trying the highlight the favorable characteristics Loíza and

commenting that the negative aspects have been caused by external agents such as the government and not necessarily the population.

8.1.8 Places have an active role in the creation of identity

Lastly, this study contributes to the theory by emphasizing that places are more than manifestations of the self (Hauge, 2007) and that they can have an active role in the creation of identity. The study places this contribution under “assimilation” because the results showed how participants passed through the identity processes until they achieved their “perceived centrality” again. After the explanations provided in the previous sections, the study concludes that in Chapter 5, light-skin participants assimilated the threat selecting “White” even when in the US they could have considered as “Other Race” and, dark-skinned participants used the term “Trigueño” to describe their skin tone even when they previously said they were “Black.”

In Chapter 6, participants assimilated the threat by selecting the groups they considered belonged to the Island as the first representative and limited their selections of Spaniards and Africans. Those who selected Africans provided reasons that were more related to their phenotypical characteristics while those who selected Taínos and Jíbaros explicitly or implicitly provided a reason associated with place and land. Explicit reasons of why they selected the groups were related with the participants’ place of origin such as coming from a rural area or working with the land. Implicit explanations related to place for those who selected Taínos because they were the first group living in Puerto Rico, while for those who selected Jíbaros did it because,

according to the history supported by the education system, it was the group who originated in the Island.

Finally, the results for Chapter 7 showed that participants expressed the constructions they had about Loíza using specific connotations to reaffirm the degree of municipio's identity they had. In this case, participants considered as "outsiders" used third-person, and were more likely to give neutral and general answers when talking about Loíza and its population. The answers also showed that they were aware that they lived in Loíza but that they did not have any need to interact with the municipio, especially when requiring services that they could find in Canóvanas or the nearby counties. For their part, native-Loiceños often referred to Loíza as "ours," personified it as "us," used more positive connotations and were more likely to provide longer answers, all those, signs that suggested they have a stronger municipio's identity.

Limitations and Future Research

The researcher is confident about its results and believes they can add significant value to the body of literature in Puerto Rico, the Identity Process Theory, urban planning, and architecture. The results presented can also contribute to areas of public policy and areas of public health because of the direct and indirect impacts whitening and denial of Blackness have on people's health (Gravee, 2005; Gravlee and Dressler, 2005). However, the study finds that some aspects could have been improved to increase the statistical significance of some of the findings. These limitations were mostly due to the specificity of the dissertation's topic, Ph.D. time-frame constraints,

the limited amount of resources to hire research assistants, but primarily because of the lack of a structured network to collect data in other parts of the Island.

8.1.9 Increase sample, diversify SES characteristics and use of sites outside the Metro Area

This research finds that the study could have benefited from a larger sample. The increase in the number of participants could include more participants in the current study sites but, other participants from the population outside of them would improve the study. Even when the number of participants surveyed in Villas de Loíza and San Isidro was slightly higher compared to those in Loíza-Pueblo or Mediania Alta, the overall sample had an over-representation of participants considered “Black” and with low socio-economic characteristics. By diversifying to include participants from different socio-economic backgrounds, and a higher proportion of those who select “White” could have helped Chapter 5's goal of explaining how Puerto Ricans select a racial category. Future research would be able to model selection of race combining socio-economic characteristics and perceived skin tones to map skin color in the Island. The goal of that research would be to identify racial inequalities based on phenotypical characteristics and hypothesize about the population's racial characteristics in previous US Censuses (e.g., 2000 and 2010) where over 80% and 75% of the population answered they were “White.”

8.1.10 Expand on the area of narratives supported through the creation of monuments

The use of the IPT framework added to the analysis of findings, has generated a new research interest that overlaps with the field of urban planning. Results in Chapter 7 showed how participants referred to Canóvanas as "the City of Indians" because of the statues in road #3 at the entrance of the main square. These findings have interested the researcher in expanding the current topic about how much statues or places such as plazas, monuments or museums influence the way the populations construct identity based on these created places. This research suspects this is one of the reasons why the responses in Chapter 6, about the construction of Puerto has the "Taínos homes" and the "Land of the Jíbaro," are the monuments and physical environments dedicated to the groups.

For example, the Taínos have a large number of monuments, ceremonial parks, statues, and iconic landmarks, compared to the other groups, especially to the African group. The Taínos and Spaniards usually accompany Africans but, monuments dedicated to them are approximately three, from which two support the narratives and stereotypes already established, such as slavery and music. Moreover, in 2017, Arecibo's county launched a statue 138-feet higher than the Statue of Liberty, which has raised pride among the Puerto Rican population. Informed by indigenous and afro-descendent movements in countries such as Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and Venezuela who have fought against the euro-centric view of history (AFP, 2004). This future research combined with the findings presented here could contribute to understand the importance that public statues, monuments and artwork around the

world have on their populations' identity. Specially comparing those created by non-profit organizations to those financed or endorsed by the government. This future research would also ask how much these initiatives can help forwarding or reversing social advancement, such as acknowledgment for Afro or Native descendants.

8.1.11 Observations about the Puerto Rico after Hurricane María

8.1.11.1 Threat to the physical environment, narratives and national identity

The data for this study were collected in summer 2016, over a year before a Category 4 Hurricane María hit Puerto Rico in September 2017. The results of this study go beyond Dixon et al.'s chapter (2014) on how threat to physical environment affects identity dimensions' perceived centrality but acknowledges the theory importance in events like this. This study finds that the original theory's concepts about places (Dixon et al., 2014) can explain how natural disasters can be considered a threat to identity and how national and ethnic identity increased, in the case of Puerto Rico especially because of the diaspora. Finally, the observations made to the theory by this current study can add further insight about the role of the governments when reconstructing the notions of the country and how those new narratives affect the population's national identity in moments of crisis. More specifically the narratives about strength and resilience to overcome situations through history and slogans such as "Puerto Rico se levanta" (Puerto Rico rises up) which the population inside and outside the Island have continuously repeat to cheer themselves

8.1.11.2 New relevance of race, inequalities and Climate Change

The topic of race has always been important because of the government's and collective denial of the racial inequalities and segregation. However, "Today's" Puerto Rico is different from the Puerto Rico "before María," and the relevance of certain topics have changed. After Hurricane Maria hit the Island, the slow US response brought Puerto Rico's colonial status to the public attention, and people outside and insiders on the Island started denouncing Puerto Rican's racialization to international eyes. However, these conversations stopped with comparisons to Katrina's in New Orleans and the contrast in funds assigned to Texas and Florida and Texas for Hurricane Harvey and Irene during previous weeks. The researcher followed closely the news after María and noticed that the discussions did not go further to address how the already failing system in Puerto Rico exacerbated the conditions of those that were already poor before the atmospheric event.

The local news' coverage the weeks after María showed the shelters in devastated regions and noticed a pattern of dark-skinned individuals in the background. Even though the hurricane caused hit harder the Southeast part of the Island where a substantial proportion of Blacks live, (2010 US Census), the media never recognized that some of the areas that were critically affected by the loss of property, had a disproportionately large dark-skinned population who were already impoverished.

For example, the study areas in Loíza near the coast, captured –momentarily– the media's attention because of the shocking images, but it never received too much attention. A few months ago, Google Map updated the pictures for several areas in Puerto Rico and revealed an ugly truth, the large number of properties with “blue roofs”

indicating buildings still devastated. Figure 8.6 shows Medianía Alta with some of the over sixty thousand houses that are estimated to have them. Future research using remote sensing could correlate the FEMA tarps to socio-economic and racial data to measure racial inequalities and vulnerability to natural disasters.

8.1.11.3 Caught up and displaced in an Island on Sale

Lastly, this study only presented findings related to the topics of race and ethnicity in Puerto Rico even when it collected data on other dimensions of race and additional issues such as the sense of place and opinions about migration (See Appendixes H, and J). Descriptive data suggest there are some interesting findings on the topic of inequalities because many participants revealed they have considered migrating but expressed not being able to do it. Some of the reasons presented mention the current (2016) economic burden, the high financial and familial costs that migrating imply and the lack of ability to save money for a plane ticket (which can sometimes be found at less than \$125). The answers seem to vary by community, and they suggest that the Black and poorest participants of the sample cannot afford to move even when they want to do it, mainly because of their financial inability to do it. If we consider the added scenario portrayed in Figure 8.6, and the vulture land and property transactions that are happening in the areas close to the beach, we can conclude that these vulnerable populations are being forced out of their communities but technically “trapped” inside the Island.

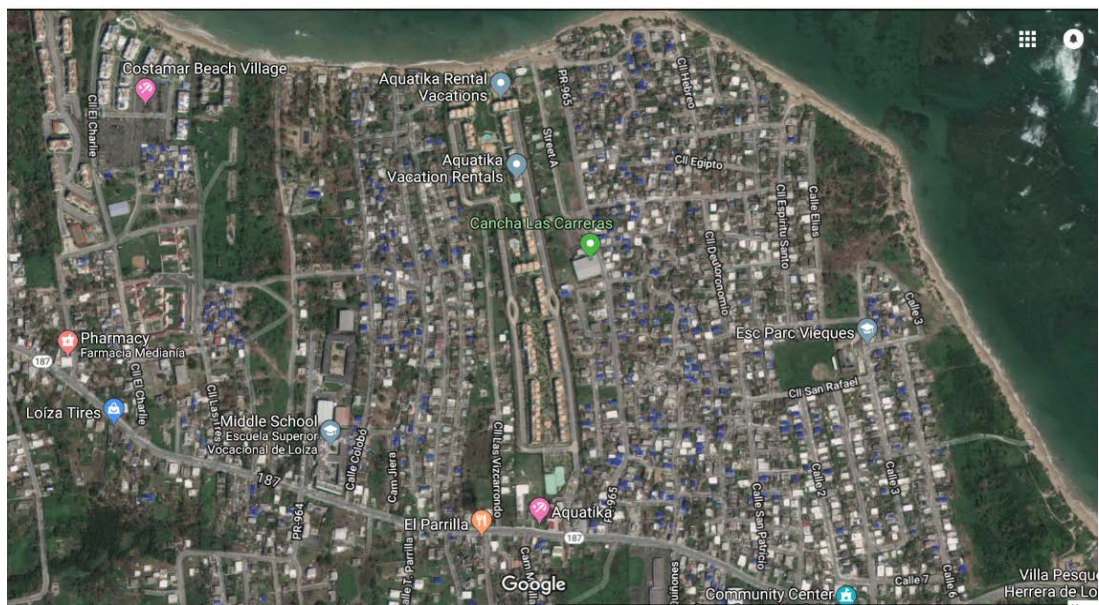
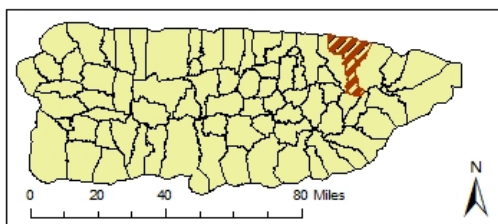
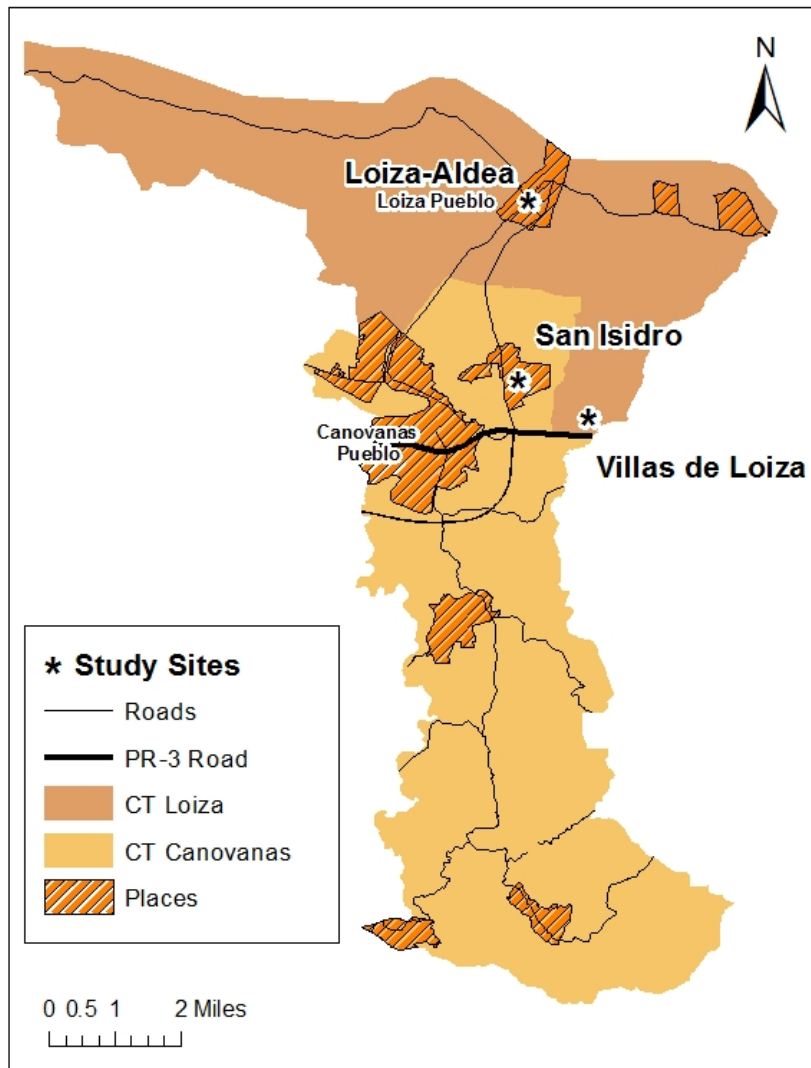


Figure 8.6 Medianía Alta, Loíza after Hurricane María

Appendixes

Study Sites in Loiza and Canovanas, Puerto Rico and Roads and Places according to the US Census



Ana I. Sanchez-Rivera
11/01/2015
Shapefile: Places
Shapefile: Main Roads in PR
Shapefile: Census Tracts (CT)
2010 US Census

Appendix B

Study Site	Less than 9 th grade	9 th -12 th No HS Diploma	High School (HS) Diploma	Some College, No Degree	Associate Degree	Bachelor's Degree	Graduate Degree or Higher
Villas de Loiza & San Isidro	z = -12.40	z = -5.86	z = -4.98	z = 2.48	z = 5.83	z = 13.46	z = 8.14
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0128	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	VL = .08 or 8%	VL = .09 or 9%	VL = .29 or 29%	VL = .13 or 13%	VL = .18 or 18%	VL = .17 or 17%	VL = .041 or 4.1%
	SI = .20 or 20%	SI = .14 or 14%	SI = .36 or 36%	SI = .10 or 10%	SI = .12 or 12%	SI = .05 or 5%	SI = .004 or .04%
Villas de Loiza & Loiza Pueblo	z = -9.69	p = no significant	z = -12.25	z = 6.33	z = 8.55	z = 15.92	p = no significant
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0001	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	
	VL = .08 or 8%	VL = .09 or 9%	VL = .29 or 29%	VL = .13 or 13%	VL = .18 or 18%	VL = .17 or 17%	VL = .041 or 4.1%
	LP = .174 or 17.4%	LP = .11 or 11%	LP = .47 or 47%	LP = .075 or 7.5%	LP = .09 or 9%	LP = .028 or 2.8%	LP = .037 or 3.7%
Villas de Loiza & Mediania Alta	z = -17.70	z = -7.73	z = -4.11	z = 8.85	z = 13.03	z = 9.13	z = 5.104
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	VL = .08 or 8%	VL = .09 or 9%	VL = .29 or 29%	VL = .13 or 13%	VL = .18 or 18%	VL = .17 or 17%	VL = .041 or 4.1%
	MA = .27 or 27%	MA = .167 or 16.7%	MA = .358 or 35.8%	MA = .053 or 5.3%	MA = .05 or 5%	MA = .08 or 8.0%	MA = .015 or 1.5%
San Isidro & Loiza Pueblo	z = 2.49	z = 3.67	z = -7.11	z = 3.90	z = 3.33	z = 4.95	z = -7.45
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0024	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	SI = .20 or 20%	SI = .14 or 14%	SI = .36 or 36%	SI = .10 or 10%	SI = .12 or 12%	SI = .05 or 5%	SI = .004 or .04%
	LP = .174 or 17.4%	LP = .11 or 11%	LP = .47 or 47%	LP = .075 or 7.5%	LP = .09 or 9%	LP = .028 or 2.8%	LP = .037 or 3.7%
San Isidro & Mediania Alta	z = -6.64	p = no significant	p = no significant	z = 6.57	z = 8.03	z = -3.93	z = -3.31
	p = 0.0000	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0094
	SI = .20 or 20%	SI = .14 or 14%	SI = .36 or 36%	SI = .10 or 10%	SI = .12 or 12%	SI = .05 or 5%	SI = .004 or .04%
	MA = .27 or 27%	MA = .167 or 16.7%	MA = .358 or 35.8%	MA = .053 or 5.3%	MA = .05 or 5%	MA = .08 or 8.0%	MA = .015 or 1.5%
Loiza Pueblo & Mediania Alta	z = -7.81	z = -5.44	z = 7.38	z = 2.85	z = 4.90	z = -7.31	z = 4.29
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0044	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	LP = .174 or 17.4%	LP = .11 or 11%	LP = .47 or 47%	LP = .075 or 7.5%	LP = .09 or 9%	LP = .028 or 2.8%	LP = .037 or 3.7%
	MA = .27 or 27%	MA = .167 or 16.7%	MA = .358 or 35.8%	MA = .053 or 5.3%	MA = .053 or 5.3%	MA = .08 or 8.0%	MA = .015 or 1.5%

Appendix C

Study Site	Less than \$10,000	\$10,000 to \$14,999	\$15,000 to \$24,999	\$25,000 to \$34,999	\$35,000 to \$49,999	\$50,000 to \$74,999	Families living Below Poverty
Villas de Loiza & San Isidro	z = -17.10	z = -6.51	z = -4.98	z = 6.24	z = 10.38	z = 12.53	z = -21.55
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	VL = .09 or 9%	VL = .05 or 5%	VL = .15 or 15%	VL = .20 or 20%	VL = .26 or 26%	VL = .18 or 18%	VL = .193 or 19.3%
	SI = .38 or 38%	SI = .12 or 12%	SI = .23 or 23%	SI = .11 or 11%	SI = .10 or 10%	SI = .02 or 2%	SI = .609 or 60.9%
Villas de Loiza & Loiza Pueblo	z = -16.17	z = -8.15	p = no significant	z = 5.62	z = 12.88	z = 6.68	z = -23.57
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = no significant	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	VL = .09 or 9%	VL = .05 or 5%	VL = .15 or 15%	VL = .20 or 20%	VL = .26 or 26%	VL = .18 or 18%	VL = .193 or 19.3%
	LP = .36 or 36%	LP = .15 or 15%	LP = .18 or 18%	LP = .12 or 12%	LP = .07 or 7%	LP = .08 or 8%	LP = .651 or 65.1%
Villas de Loiza & Mediania Alta	z = -15.51	z = -8.89	z = -5.13	z = 5.65	z = 11.17	z = 12.45	z = -19.57
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	VL = .09 or 9%	VL = .05 or 5%	SI = .15 or 15%	VL = .20 or 20%	VL = .26 or 26%	VL = .18 or 18%	VL = .193 or 19.3%
	MA = .35 or 35%	MA = .164 or 16.4%	MA = .238 or 23.8%	MA = .124 or 12.4%	MA = .092 or 9.2%	MA = .024 or 2.4%	MA = .568 or 56.8%
San Isidro & Loiza Pueblo	p = no significant	p = no significant	z = 2.98	p = no significant	z = 2.77	z = -6.73	z = -2.06
	p = no significant	p = 0.0029	p = 0.0029	p = no significant	p = 0.0055	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0394
	SI = .38 or 38%	SI = .12 or 12%	SI = .23 or 23%	SI = .11 or 11%	SI = .10 or 10%	SI = .02 or 2%	SI = .609 or 60.9%
	LP = .36 or 36%	LP = .15 or 15%	LP = .18 or 18%	LP = .12 or 12%	LP = .07 or 7%	LP = .08 or 8%	LP = .651 or 65.1%
San Isidro & Mediania Alta	p = no significant	z = -2.28	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = no significant
	p = no significant	p = 0.0226	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = no significant
	SI = .38 or 38%	SI = .12 or 12%	SI = .23 or 23%	SI = .11 or 11%	SI = .10 or 10%	SI = .02 or 2%	SI = .609 or 60.9%
	MA = .35 or 35%	MA = .164 or 16.4%	MA = .238 or 23.8%	MA = .124 or 12.4%	MA = .092 or 9.2%	MA = .024 or 2.4%	MA = .568 or 56.8%
Loiza Pueblo & Mediania Alta	p = no significant	p = no significant	z = -3.278	p = no significant	p = no significant	z = 6.66	z = 4.021
	p = no significant	p = 0.0017	p = 0.0017	p = no significant	p = no significant	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000
	LP = .36 or 36%	LP = .05 or 5%	LP = .18 or 18%	LP = .12 or 12%	LP = .07 or 7%	LP = .08 or 8%	LP = .651 or 65.1%
	MA = .35 or 35%	MA = .164 or 16.4%	MA = .238 or 23.8%	MA = .124 or 12.4%	MA = .092 or 9.2%	MA = .024 or 2.4%	MA = .568 or 56.8%

Appendix D

Study Site	White Only	Black Only	Some Other Race	Two or more Races
Villas de Loiza & San Isidro	z = 5.65	z = -3.74	z = -4.60	z = 2.83
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0002	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0046
	VL = .597 or 59.7%	VL = .28 or 28%	VL = .08 or 8%	VL = .032 or 3.2%
	SI = .53 or 53%	SI = .32 or 32%	SI = .11 or 11%	SI = .021 or 2.1%
Villas de Loiza & Loiza Pueblo	z = 40.39	z = -44.09	z = 8.18	z = 2.17
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0104	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0296
	VL = .597 or 59.7%	VL = .28 or 28%	VL = .08 or 8%	VL = .32 or 3.2%
	LP = .15 or 15%	LP = .77 or 77%	LP = .03 or 3%	LP = .020 or 2.0%
Villas de Loiza & Mediania Alta	z = 38.91	z = -38.90	p = no significant	z = 3.69
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000		p = 0.0021
	VL = .597 or 59.7%	VL = .28 or 28%	VL = .84 or 8.4%	VL = .032 or 3.2%
	MA = .141 or 14.1%	MA = .746 or 74.6%	MA = .84 or 8.4%	MA = .02 or 2%
San Isidro & Loiza Pueblo	z = 33.73	z = -5.65	z = 12.31	p = no significant
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	
	SI = .53 or 53%	SI = .32 or 32%	SI = .11 or 11%	SI = .021 or 2.1%
	LP = .15 or 15%	LP = .77 or 77%	LP = .03 or 3%	LP = .020 or 2.0%
San Isidro & Mediania Alta	z = 32.82	z = -33.97	z = 4.32	p = no significant
	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	p = 0.0000	
	SI = .53 or 53%	SI = .32 or 32%	SI = .11 or 11%	SI = .021 or 2.1%
	MA = .141 or 14.1%	MA = .746 or 74.6%	MA = .84 or 8.4%	MA = .02 or 2%
Loiza Pueblo & Mediania Alta	p = no significant	z = 2.92	z = -7.7573	p = no significant
		p = 0.0035	p = 0.0000	
	LP = .15 or 15%	LP = .77 or 77%	LP = .03 or 3%	LP = .020 or 2.0%
	MA = .141 or 14.1%	MA = .746 or 74.6%	MA = .84 or 8.4%	MA = .02 or 2%

Appendix E

Characteristics	Villas de Loiza (A)	San Isidro (B)	Loiza-Pueblo (C)	Mediania Alta (D)
Municipio	Loiza	Canovanas	Loiza	Loiza
Relative Location	Far away from the rest of Loiza/ Near to Canovanas	Canovanas' barrio with the nearness proximately to Loiza / Near to Canovanas-Pueblo	Isolated from the main road/ Loiza's plaza and administration is here.	Isolated from the other counties/ Far from Loiza-plaza
Hypothesis Municipio's Identity	Weak Sense of Place for Loiza	Strong Sense of Place for Canóvanas	Strong Sense of Place for Loiza	Strong Sense of Place for Loiza
Racial Identification (2010 US Census)	Mixed (Similar proportions)	Mixed (Predominantly White)	(Mixed) Predominantly Black	Predominantly Black
Skin Color (Observed)	Variety of skin tones	Variety of skin tones	Dark Skinned	Dark Skinned
Socio-Economics (2010 US Census)	Medium to Higher	Medium to Low (Mostly Low)	Low	Low

Appendix F



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INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

DATE: July 19, 2016

TO: Ana Sanchez-Rivera, MA
FROM: University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB

PROJECT TITLE: [897049-2] The Role of Government in the creation of Places:
Multi-site Case Study in Loiza and Canovanas

REFERENCE #:
SUBMISSION Amendment/Modification

TYPE:

ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL July 19, 2016

DATE:

EXPIRATION May 8, 2017

DATE:

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

REVIEW
CATEGORY: Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of Amendment/Modification materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

Prior to submission to the IRB Office, this project received scientific review from the departmental IRB Liaison.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of May 8, 2017.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Unless a consent waiver or alteration has been approved, Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

ALL UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

ALL NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of seven years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

CONSENT FORM – SURVEYS

Dear participant,

You have been invited to participate in the research study *The Role of Government in the creation of Places: Multi-site Case Study in Loiza and Canovanas*. This research is part of a dissertation project is being conducted by **Ana I. Sanchez Rivera**, a geography graduate student at the University of Maryland, College Park. This dissertation is conducted under the supervision of Martha Geores professor from the same university. The purpose of this research project is to know Puerto Ricans' opinion about race, racial heritage and sense of place within the Island.

You were selected as a participant in this study because you are a Puerto Rican that born in Puerto Rico, with both parents Puerto Ricans, you are 18 years or older and, currently resides in Canovanas or Loíza. There will be between 150 and 300 voluntary subjects involved in the study. If you agree on participate, you will be asked to complete three questionnaires, the total process should take no more than 25 minutes. Later, if you are still interested, you will be asked to meet for one of more interviews.

Risk and Benefits

There may be some risks from participating in this study, but they are minimal. Some of them can include: (1) feel some emotional or mental discomfort when answering some of the questions; (2) believe that you are wasting your time or; 3) experience tiredness, boredom or frustration during the procedure. To minimize any of these risks, please remember that you can (a) Withdraw your participation at any time, without any penalty by the investigator or, (b) decline to answer any question that causes discomfort.

Your participation in the research does not involve any personal or direct benefit. However, your participation will contribute to the comprehension of the how the government influences the understanding of race in Puerto Rico and its importance when constructing the national and personal identity. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of how the government can create places that can help the people to celebrate identity.

Confidentiality

It is important to understand that your identity as a participant is confidential and that any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing data in a secure location such as locked cabinet and password protected computers. Any questionnaire, mark or respond in this research could be associated with you, as this sheet, will be stored under lock in a different cabinet, separated from the surveys you will complete. If we write a report or

article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.

Rights

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify. You also have the right to receive one copy of this document for future reference or if you need or want to have additional information about the research.

Before you sign the form, please ask questions on any aspect of the study that is at all unclear to you. If you have any additional questions, concerns, or complaints later or wish to report a problem related to research, please contact the investigator **Ana I. Sanchez-Rivera** at **240-565-9801** or via email to asanche5@umd.edu, or Dr. Martha Geores at 301-405-4064 or mgeores@umd.edu. This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related problem, please contact:

**University of Maryland College Park
Institutional Review Board Office
1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, Maryland, 20742
E-mail: irb@umd.edu
Telephone: 301-405-0678**

Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction, and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form.

If you agree to participate, please sign your name below..

Date _____

Time _____AM/PM

Name of the participant: _____

Signature of the participant: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____

Appendix H

Socio-demographic Sheet

1. Sex: a. _____ Male b. _____ Female

2. Age: _____

3. Marital Status

a. _____ Single

c. _____ Divorced

b. _____ Married

d. _____ Widower

4. Educational Level:

a. _____ Less than high school

b. _____ High school diploma

c. _____ Technical or Associate degree

d. _____ Bachelor degree or more

If higher than a BA, please specify: _____

e. _____ Other: _____

5. How much do you estimate was the total amount of income of your household last year from January 2015 to December 2015? Include in this total the amount earned by every member who live under the same roof and contribute economically to the family.

a. _____ Less than \$10,000

f. _____ \$50,001 – \$75,000

b. _____ \$10,001 - \$15,000

g. _____ \$75,001 - \$100,000

c. _____ \$15,001 - \$25,000

h. _____ \$100,001 - \$200,000

d. _____ \$25,001 - \$35,000

i. _____ More than \$200,001

e. _____ \$35,001 - \$50,000

6. How many people are living or staying at this house? : _____ (number)

7. Do you receive any economic help from the government?

a. _____ Yes

b. _____ No

Please mention: _____

8. Are you currently employed?

a. _____ Private enterprise

c. _____ Public sector

d. _____ Business owner

d. _____ Other: _____

9. Where did you grow up? Municipio: _____

Sector, Barrio or Urbanizacion's name: _____

10. Where are you currently living? Municipio: _____

Sector, Barrio or Urbanizacion's name: _____

11. How long have you been living in this county? _____

12. How long have you been living in this community? _____

Please answer both questions 12 about Hispanic origin and 13 about race. For this questionnaire, Hispanic origins are not race.

13. Are you Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?

- a. _____ Not, not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin
- b. _____ Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
- c. _____ Yes, Puerto Rican
- d. _____ Yes, Cuban
- e. _____ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin: _____

14. What is your race?

- a. _____ White
- b. _____ Black, African American, Negro
- c. _____ American Indian or Alaska Native
- d. _____ Asian Indian
- e. _____ Japanese
- f. _____ Native Hawaiian
- g. _____ Chinese
- h. _____ Korean
- i. _____ Guamanian
- j. _____ Filipino
- k. _____ Vietnamese
- l. _____ Samoan
- m. _____ Other Asian: _____
- n. _____ Other Pacific Islander: _____
- o. Some other race: _____

15. Have you considered migration (e.g. moving to other country?)

- a. _____ Yes
- b. _____ No

If yes

- a. Why have you thought about it?

- b. Is there any particular reason why you have not migrated yet?

- c. Do you think you will be able to do it (migrating) at some point in life?

Appendix I

Questionnaire: Constructions of Race

Thank you for agreeing in completing this survey! The US Census is including a measure of Race that does not represent the racial characteristics of Puerto Ricans. This questionnaire has the goal to understand how we understand race.

Please read carefully every question and its specific instructions, and answer each of them to the best of your ability.

1) Which do you think is/are the main components predictors of race? (Please rank the following options from 1 to 6, 1 being the main definer of race and 6 is being the less representative of the word “race”).

- _____ Country of birth (ex. Puerto Rico)
- _____ Parent’s race
- _____ Skin Color
- _____ Other physical characteristics (mouth, nose’s shape, hair texture)
- _____ Cultures (ex. Latinos, Asians, Middle East, Native Indians)
- _____ Other: _____

2) What do you consider your skin color to be? (Please circle one option of the scale)



3) What do you consider your natural hair texture (without chemical treatment) to be?

- _____ Straight
- _____ Curly
- _____ Waive
- _____ Very Curly (Afro)
- _____ Other (specify): _____

4) What do you consider the color of your eyes is?

- _____ Dark Brown
- _____ Blue/Green
- _____ Light Brown
- _____ Other: _____

5) How would you rank the skin color of Puerto Ricans in general? (Please rank from 1 to 5, selecting 1 from the color that you think Puerto Ricans mainly are, and 5 as the least common skin tone)

- _____ Very Light Skin
- _____ Dark Brown
- _____ Light Brown
- _____ Very Dark
- _____ Medium Brown

6) Which do you consider your mother's skin color is/was? (Please circle the scale)



_____ Do not know or remember

7) Which do you consider your father's skin color is/was? (Please circle the scale)



_____ Do not know or remember

8) How would you physically describe yourself to someone that cannot see you in person or in pictures? (ex. someone you are chatting on the internet)

9) Which of these groups represent you the best? Please rank these four historical groups, selecting 1 for the group that represent you the most and choosing 4 for the one that represents you the less.

_____ Native Indian _____ Spaniard _____ African _____ Jíbaro

Why did you select that order?

10) We have learned about the three main racial groups that influenced the Puerto Rican culture. Can you rank how do you think these races have influence some aspects of our culture? (From left to right, use 1 for the race that influenced the cultural aspect the most, 2 for the second and 3 for the race you think influenced the least)

a. PR Culture in general	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
b. Words in PR's vocabulary	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
c. Music	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
d. Food	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
e. Puerto Ricans' personality	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
f. Skin Color	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
g. Religion	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
h. County where do you live	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African
i. Your Community	_____ Native Indian	_____ Spaniard	_____ African

Thank you for the time and effort you put answering these questionnaires!

Appendix J

Questionnaire: Sense of Place

Thank you for agreeing in completing this survey! Please read carefully every question and select the degree of agreement with the sentence that best reflect your way of thinking.

	Totally Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Totally Disagree
1 ^a . I am happy living in Puerto Rico.					
1 ^b . I am happy living in COUNTY.					
1 ^c . I am happy living in BARRIO.					
2 ^a . I would like to live in Puerto Rico for a long time.					
2 ^b . I would like to live in COUNTY for a long time.					
2 ^c . I would like to live in BARRIO for a long time.					
3 ^a . I feel connected to Puerto Rico					
3 ^b . I feel connected to COUNTY.					
3 ^c . I feel connected to BARRIO.					
4 ^a . Puerto Rico offers the best opportunities to do my favorite activities.					
4 ^b . COUNTY offers the best opportunities to do my favorite activities.					
4 ^c . BARRIO offers the best opportunities to do my favorite activities.					
5 ^a . As far as I am concerned, there are better places than Puerto Rico.					
5 ^b . As far as I am concerned, there are better places than COUNTY.					
5 ^c . As far as I am concerned, there are better places than BARRIO.					
6 ^a . Living in Puerto Rico has helped me to be who I am today.					
6 ^b . Living in COUNTY has helped me to be who I am today.					
6 ^c . Living in BARRIO has helped has helped me to be who I am today.					

	Totally Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Totally Disagree
7 ^a . Puerto Rico is a good place to do the things I enjoy the most.					
7 ^b . COUNTY is a good place to do the things I enjoy the most.					
7 ^c . BARRIO is a good place to do the things I enjoy the most.					
8 ^a . I like living in Puerto Rico.					
8 ^b . I like living in COUNTY.					
8 ^c . I like living in Barrio.					
9 ^a . Puerto Rico means very littler to me.					
9 ^b . COUNTY means very littler to me.					
9 ^c . BARRIO means very littler to me.					
10 ^a . I cannot imagine myself living outside of Puerto Rico					
10 ^b . I cannot imagine myself living outside of COUNTY					
10 ^c . I cannot imagine myself living outside of BARRIO					
11 ^a . Puerto Rico is important for me.					
11 ^b . PUEBLO is important for me.					
11 ^c . BARRIO is important for me.					
12 ^a . I believe <u>other country</u> would provide me with more opportunities to do things I like to do.					
12 ^b . I believe <u>other county</u> would provide me with more opportunities to do things I like to do.					
12 ^c . I believe <u>other barrio</u> would provide me with more opportunities to do things I like to do.					

To which of these places do you feel more attached? Please read all the options and rank them 1 to 5, where 1 would be more attached and 5 less attached.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| _____ To my community | _____ To county of my birth |
| _____ To my barrio | _____ To the county where I live (use the same |
| _____ To my Puerto Rico | number if is the county where you live the same |
| | county of birth) |

Appendix K

CONSENT FORM - INTERVIEW

Dear participant,

You have been invited to participate in the research study *The Role of Government in the creation of Places: Multi-site Case Study in Loiza and Canovanas*. This research is part of a dissertation project is being conducted by **Ana I. Sanchez Rivera**, a geography graduate student at the University of Maryland, College Park. This dissertation is conducted under the supervision of Martha Geores professor from the same university. The purpose of this research project is to know your opinion about the split of Loiza and Canovanas in 1972.

You were selected as a participant in this study because you are a Puerto Rican that born in Puerto Rico, with both parents Puerto Ricans, you are 18 years or older and, currently resides in Canovanas or Loíza. There will be between 36 and 45 voluntary subjects involved in the study. If you agree on participate, you will be asked a set of questions that should not take longer than 40 minutes. The researcher will like to record this interview but if you don't want her to do it, please say it now. At the end, if you are still interested, you will be asked to meet for one more interview.

Risk and Benefits

There may be some risks from participating in this study, but they are minimal. Some of them can include: (1) feel some emotional or mental discomfort when answering some of the questions; (2) believe that you are wasting your time or; 3) experience tiredness, boredom or frustration during the procedure. To minimize any of these risks, please remember that you can (a) Withdraw your participation at any time, without any penalty by the investigator or, (b) decline to answer any question that causes discomfort.

Your participation in the research does not involve any personal or direct benefit. However, your participation will contribute to the comprehension of the how the government influences the understanding of race in Puerto Rico and its importance when constructing the national and personal identity. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of how the government can create places that can help the people to celebrate identity.

Confidentiality

It is important to understand that your identity as a participant is confidential and that any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing data in a secure location such as locked cabinet and password protected computers. Any questionnaire, mark or respond in this research could be associated with you, as this sheet, will be stored under lock in a different cabinet, separated from the surveys you will complete. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be

shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.

Compensation

In acknowledgment for your interest and time dedicated to collaborate with this study, the researcher will pay you \$10 at the end of the interview.

Rights

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify (compensation of \$10). You also have the right to receive one copy of this document for future reference or if you need or want to have additional information about the research.

Before you sign the form, please ask questions on any aspect of the study that is at all unclear to you. If you have any additional questions, concerns, or complaints later or wish to report a problem related to research, please contact the investigator **Ana I. Sanchez-Rivera** at **240-565-9801** or via email to asanche5@umd.edu, or Dr. Martha Geores at 301-405-4064 or mgeores@umd.edu. This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related problem, please contact:

**University of Maryland College Park
Institutional Review Board Office
1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, Maryland, 20742
E-mail: irb@umd.edu
Telephone: 301-405-0678**

Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction, and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form.

If you agree to participate, please sign your name below..

Date _____ Time _____ AM/PM

Name of the participant: _____

Signature of the participant: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____

Do you agree that this interview can be recorded? Please write your initials in the line in front of your answer.

☐ Yes, I authorize it

☐ No, I don't authorize it

Appendix L

Interview

Topic: Split of Loiza, Creation Canovanas

- 1) What do you know about the division of Canovanas and Loiza?
- 2) Do you think the decision of splitting the counties was a good idea? Why?
 - i. Do you think the split was beneficial for your county? And for your community?
 - ii. If you would have the opportunity of going back in time... Would you split them?
 - iii. Do you think there were hidden reasons that were not mentioned when the counties were divided?
- 3) Overall, are you satisfied with what the government have done with this county? And with this community?
- 4) Do you remember if the government made any promises?
 - i. Were they fulfilled?

Topic: Differences between Canovanas and Loiza

- 5) How do you think Canovanas and Loiza differentiate from each other?
- 6) Do you think this barrio should belong to Canovanas or to Loiza?
 - i. How would you feel if someone tell you: “No, this community is from THE OTHER COUNTY” Why would you feel in that way?
- 7) What are the first three things that comes to your mind when I mention (the other county)? Why?

Topic: Differences between Puerto Rico, county and community

If I ask you to choose between Puerto Rico, -the county- or the community...

- 8) To Which one would you feel you are more attached?
 - i. Would you say you love more Puerto Rico, -the county- or –the community-?
 - ii. Is there a different degree of love for each one? Could you explain why?
- 9) Could you say you can live outside of Puerto Rico?
 - a. if you can bring your county or your community with you?

Appendix M

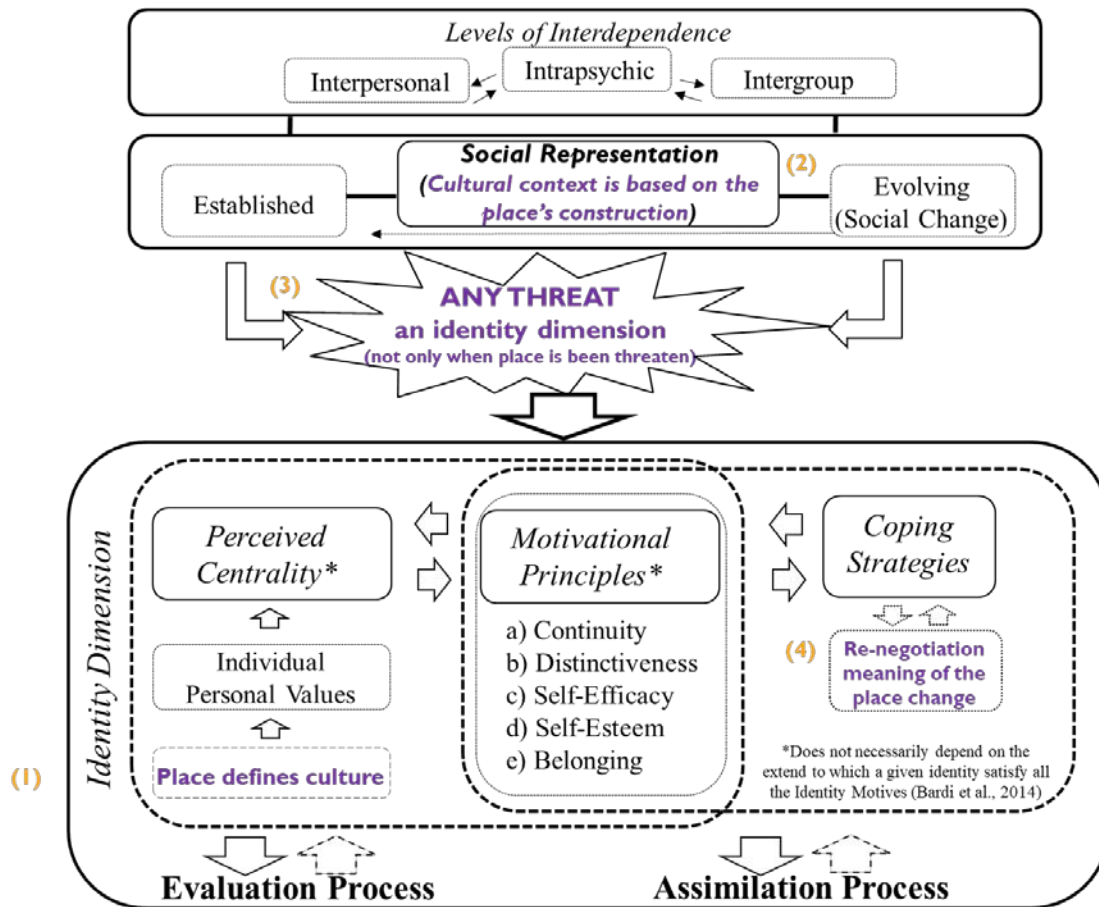
Centroids

		Positivo		Neutral		Negativo	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Cluster	1	2.17	2.137	4.17	2.483	1.50	1.761
	2	4.70	2.541	2.10	1.287	2.60	1.897
	3	2.33	1.581	2.11	2.147	2.22	1.716
	Combined	3.24	2.385	2.60	2.062	2.20	1.780

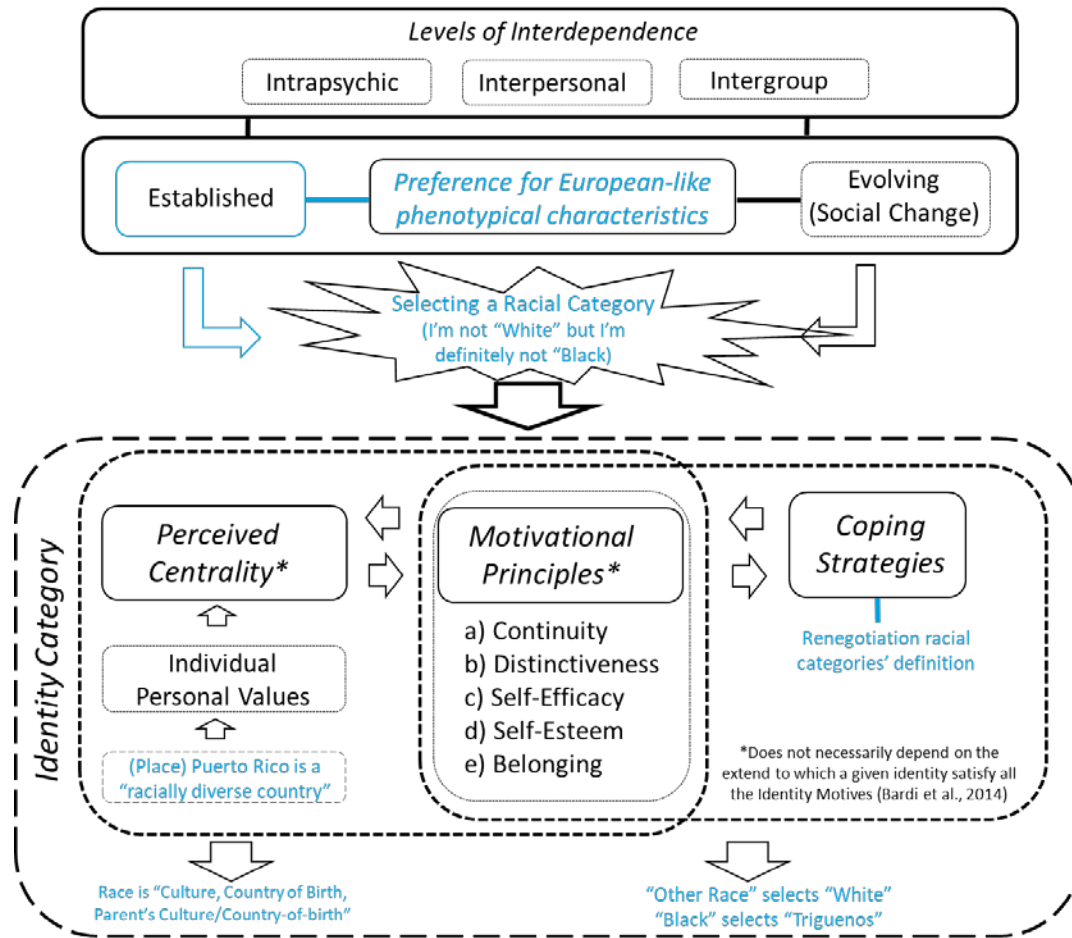
Centroids

		Positivo		Neutral		Negativo	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Cluster	1	2.17	2.137	4.17	2.483	1.50	1.761
	2	4.70	2.541	2.10	1.287	2.60	1.897
	3	2.00	.816	1.75	.957	1.50	1.291
	4	2.60	2.074	2.40	2.881	2.80	1.924
	Combined	3.24	2.385	2.60	2.062	2.20	1.780

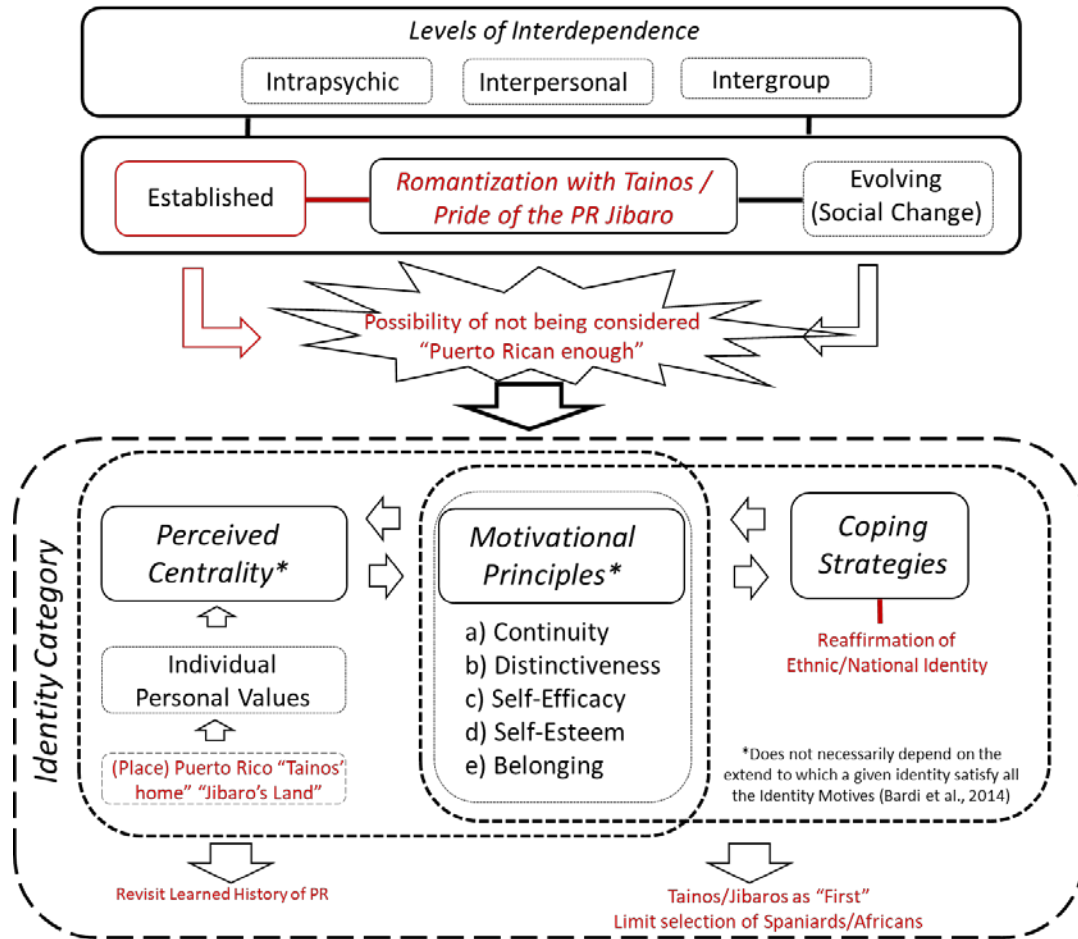
Appendix N



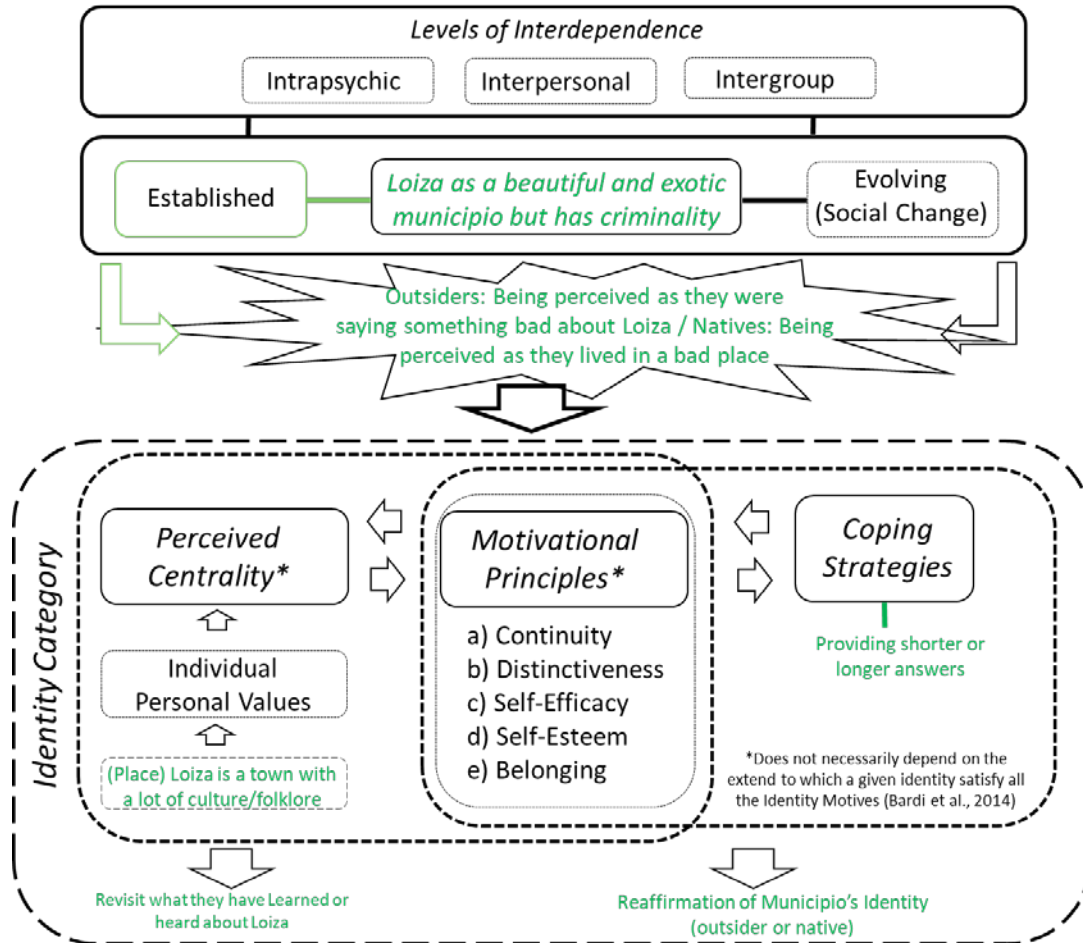
Appendix O



Appendix P



Appendix Q



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